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WILLIAM WOODVILLE ROCKHILL

CHINA'S INTERCOURSE WITH KOREA
FROM THE XVTH CENTURY TO 1895

LUZAC & CO. LONDON
PUBLISHERS TO THE UNIV. OF CHICAGO

1905

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PREFATORY NOTE.

IN 1888 I published in vol. xiii of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* a paper entitled "Korea in its Relations to China."

During succeeding years I made frequent changes in this study as my readings supplied me with additional matter, or as passing events enabled me to add something of interest to it.

It has been suggested to me that in this amplified form my paper might prove of interest to students of Oriental history, and for that reason I have brought it out in the present form, adding to it a chapter on some of the laws and customs of Korea, the substance of a portion of which appeared in 1891 in the *American Anthropologist*.

W. WOODVILLE ROCKHILL.

WASHINGTON.

6th March, 1905.

CHINA'S INTERCOURSE WITH KOREA

FROM THE

XVTH CENTURY TO 1895.

I.

KOREA'S POLITICAL STATUS.

IN the following pages I have endeavoured to explain with the aid of official Chinese publications and writings of Chinese holding official positions, or well situated to know whereof they wrote, the nature of Korea's relation to China from the end of the fourteenth century to the conclusion in 1876 of the treaty of Kang-hua between Japan and Korea, which marks the beginning of a new era in the history of the latter country, its entry into the family of nations.

Prior to the Kang-hua treaty the nature of Korea's relation to China was a puzzle to Western nations. They were told, at one and the same time, that Korea, "though a vassal and tributary state of China, was entirely independent as far as her government, religion, and intercourse with foreign states were concerned," a condition of things hardly compatible with our ideas of either absolute dependence or complete independence.

In 1871 the Chinese Foreign Office wrote to the United States Minister in Peking, Mr. Frederick F. Low, who had informed it that he had been appointed by his Government special envoy to Korea, and was about proceeding there, that: "Korea is regarded as a country subordinate to China, yet she is wholly independent in everything that relates to

her government, her religion, her prohibitions, and her laws; in none of these things has China hitherto interfered."¹

Again, in 1882, though in the meanwhile the treaty of Kang-hua had been signed with Japan, the first article of which is, "Chosen, being an independent state, enjoys the same sovereign rights as does Japan," the King of Korea wrote to the President of the United States saying :—

"The Chao-hsien country (Korea) is a dependency of China; but the management of her Governmental affairs, home and foreign, have always been vested in the Sovereign.

"Now as the Governments of the United States and Korea are about to enter into treaty relations, the intercourse between the two nations shall be carried on in every respect on terms of equality and courtesy, and the King of Korea clearly assents that all of the Articles of the treaty shall be acknowledged and carried into effect according to the laws of independent states.

"In the matter of Korea being a dependency of China, in any questions that may arise between them in consequence of such dependency, the United States shall in no way interfere. The King has accordingly deputed Commissioners for the purpose of negotiating the treaty, and now as in duty bound addresses this communication for the information of the President of the United States."²

And yet as late as June 29th, 1894, the Korean Foreign Office quoted the treaty of Kang-hua and the preceding letter of the King to the President of the United States, to make clear to the Japanese Minister its particular status!

Korea's complete independence was only recognized by China in 1895 after the war with Japan. Article I of the Treaty of Peace between China and Japan reads: "China recognizes definitely the full and complete independence and autonomy of Korea, and in consequence the payment of tributes and the performance of ceremonies and formalities

¹ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1871, p. 112.

² "This letter, which has been accepted by China as authoritative, contains the only official statement ever received by the U.S. Government as to Korea's relation to China" (*Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1888, p. 256). Cf. the terms of the Chinese proclamation after the arrest of the Tai-wen-kun in 1882 signed by the Chinese Commissioner, Ma Chien-chung, and the Imperial decree of Sept. 25th of the same year relating to the recent Korean revolt.

by Korea to China, in derogation of such independence and autonomy, shall wholly cease for the future."

Korean traditions point to Ki-tzū, or Viscount of Ki, a noble of China during the reign of Chou-hsin of the Shang Dynasty (B.C. 1154-1122),¹ as the founder of the present civilization of Korea in B.C. 1122, and through him Korea claims relationship with China, to which country Koreans say they stand in the same relation of subjection as a younger brother does to an elder one and head of the family. This peculiar form of subservience, based as it is on Confucian theories, which have shaped all Chinese and Korean society and made the people of those countries what they are, must never be lost sight of in studying Korea's relations with and to China.

Stress has been laid on the expression, used alike by Chinese and Koreans in official documents, of speaking of Korea as a *shu kuo*, a term usually translated 'vassal kingdom, fief,' but these terms are misleading, for the character *shu* carries with it the idea of relationship, which, as stated, is the keynote to the whole question. Even the investiture by the Emperor of China of the King of Korea, which was for many centuries the most important act of suzerainty exercised by China over Korea, should, to a certain extent, be interpreted in the light of the relationship in which the two countries have ever stood to each other. We find in both Korean and Chinese works, and hear among the Korean people, frequent allusion to the relationship of the two countries. The Emperors of the Ming Dynasty were "fathers to Korea"; the Manchu Emperors have been "elder brothers"; and the present Emperor of China in an edict in 1882 spoke of the reigning family of Korea as his "near kindred."²

¹ See W. F. Mayers, *Chinese Reader's Manual*, p. 77. Ki-tzū made his capital at P'yōng-yang, and the dynasty which he founded lasted until the fourth century B.C. His memory is still kept in the names of the different yamēns, while his grave is preserved with great respect, and a hall containing his portrait lies to the south of the city. In its immediate neighbourhood is the standard of land measurement introduced by him, which is illustrated by paths and ditches said to have been cut under his direction (W. R. Carles, *Report of a Journey in the North of Corea*, p. 9).

² *Peking Gazette*, Sept. 23rd, 1882.

As to the custom of Korean kings submitting to the Emperor of China for his approval the names of the heirs to their throne, of their consorts, of informing him of deaths in the Royal Family, these again are strictly ceremonial relations bearing with them no idea of subordination, other than that of respect and deference on the part of a younger member of a family to its recognized head.

Twice, at least, during the Ming Dynasty of China (A.D. 1368-1644) the people of Korea chose their sovereign without consulting China, and the latter power only entered a mild protest. So far as I can learn, there is no case recorded in which the Emperor of China has disapproved of the choice the King of Korea has made of his successor or his consort. In 1699, the King had his son by a concubine recognized as his heir, the Queen having no children. In 1722 and in 1724 he asked for the recognition of his younger brother as his heir. In 1763 the grandson of the then reigning king was recognized as heir to the throne, the Peking Board of Rites quoting the Book of Rites (*Li Ki*, *T'ao kung*, i) to show that a grandson is the natural heir to the throne, if the son dies during the father's lifetime.¹ In 1691² the King of Korea asked the Emperor's approval of his again taking as his consort a person whom he had previously put away in favour of a concubine, and of reducing the latter to her former rank. All these requests, and every other one recorded, were granted.

What did the investiture by China of the kings of Siam, Burmah, Annam, Korea, etc., amount to? To nothing more than the recognition of a weak sovereign by the most powerful state in Asia. Take for example Burmah: we know as a matter of fact that the Chinese invasion of that country in 1769 was successfully repelled, and that the Chinese generals were forced to sue for peace. In the convention signed by them and the Burmese commissioners

¹ The present heir-apparent (*Shih-tzu*) to the throne of Korea received a patent of investiture from the Emperor of China in 1875. See *Peking Gazette*, Nov. 21st and Dec. 9th, 1875.

² Du Halde, *Description de l'Empire de la Chine*, iv, p. 447, and Dallet, *Histoire de l'Eglise de Corée*, i, p. xvi, place this event in 1694.

on December 13th, 1769, it was agreed among other things that "letters of friendship were to be sent every ten years from one sovereign to another."¹ Let us turn now to the "Institutes of the Ta Ch'ing Dynasty," and we find it mentioned, for example, that in 1790 the King of Burmah sent an envoy to the Emperor "with presents and a humble statement (*piao*), and asked him to confer on him a patent of investiture (*feng*)." Such is the Chinese method of writing history!

In 1800 the same work tells us that the King of Burmah sent the Emperor "a *piao* on gold leaf with the *regulation tribute*!"

The Burmese "tribute" to China has been considered of such a purely ceremonial nature that the British Government showed no hesitation, when concluding the Burmah convention with China in 1886, by which the latter power agrees to the occupation of Upper Burmah by Great Britain, to guarantee the continuance of the decennial tribute mission to Peking.²

Take, again, Japan: although it is a well-known fact that it never admitted the Chinese claim of sovereignty over it,

¹ Sir Arthur P. Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 202.

² In 1875 the then Governor of Yün-nan memorialized the Throne in respect to a tribute mission from Burmah to the Court of China. "Burmah," he says, "has long since been ranked among the tributary allies (*Wai Fan*) of China." The tribute mission, which arrived on the Chinese frontier on the 1st of February, 1875, carried five elephants, a quantity of tribute presents, and a letter on a sheet of gold from King Meng-tung to the Emperor. The Governor appends a translation (?) of this document. In it he makes the King to say: "Your vassal (*ch'en*) would with all humility set forth that under the universal sway of His Holiness the 'streams and hills' are all objects of his fostering care, the kingdoms of the distant ocean become converted to his civilising rule, and as the sunflower bows before the sun, so does all mankind turn with adoration towards the Imperial person. Succeeding to your barren and far-off dependency of Burmah, your vassal is impressed with the deep favours conferred by your Heavenly Dynasty when permitting his country to be enrolled among the territory of Yü" (*Peking Gazette*, May 15th, 1875). Cf. with this the letter to the Emperor of the King of Annam sent with his tribute mission to Peking, and published in the *Peking Gazette* of Dec. 24th, 1880. Its tone and not a few of the expressions used are the same as those found in the letter of the King of Burmah; one might think that both were inspired by the same person, or that the writers had used the same model. On the British Burmah Convention of 1886, General A. R. MacMahon wrote in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* (ix, p. 349 et seq.) that it was a blunder to concede the sending of tribute to China, for it had caused a great loss of prestige to England, which is, all words to the contrary notwithstanding, the tribute-bearer.

we find, for example, in Chinese histories that the Emperor Yung-lo of the Ming sent an envoy to Japan in 1404 with presents for the king of that country (Yuan-tao-i), among which were a hundred blank passports and permissions for the king to send tribute every ten years, on condition that there should not be over 200 persons in each mission, that the ships on which they came should not be armed, and that all their trading should be done with the Emperor. It is also said that this same Emperor sent a second mission shortly after this one with a patent of investiture for the King of Japan.¹

Even the tribute sent to Peking by such 'vassal states' as the Tibetans, and the aboriginal tribes of Western China, is solely a *quid pro quo* for the privilege of trading with the Chinese under extraordinarily favourable conditions, the merchants and merchandise being brought to the market and returned home free of all charges.

¹ See Amiot in *Mém. con. les Chinois*, xiv, pp. 82-83.

II.

INTERCOURSE DURING THE XIVTH AND XVTH
CENTURIES.

IN 1392 the Ministers of State of Korea reported to the Emperor T'ai-tsu of the Ming Dynasty as follows:—

“Our much lamented sovereign having died without leaving issue, the powerful minister Ni In-in gave the sovereign rule to U the son of Sin-chun,¹ but he showed himself both stupid and fond of shedding blood. It happened that he wanted to send a military expedition to the border, but General Ni Sōng-ké, disapproving of it, marched the troops back. U saw his error, and, filled with terror, abdicated in favour of his son Ch'ang. The people were opposed to this, and besought the Queen of our lamented sovereign, who belonged to the An family, to select her relative Yo to manage the affairs of the State. After four years he also showed himself stupid and wicked, and, believing in calumnies, he grievously wounded the son of an officer of long-established merit. Now his son Syek being also a silly man without any ability, the people of the kingdom said ‘Yo is unable to rule the gods of the land and grain,’ and they caused the Queen, belonging to the An family, to restore Yo to private life; and the Wang dynasty (lit. family), having no able representative, was at an end.

“The people both within and without the capital are devoted to Sōng-ké, so the Ministers and the elders of the people have requested him to become their sovereign, and the Emperor's approval is asked.”

¹ *Ming shih*, Bk. 320, gives also another account of these events, derived presumably from an independent source. It says that in 1370 Ni In-in killed Chyen, King of Korea, and put on the throne the King's adopted son U, the child of his favourite Sin-chun. In 1388 King U killed the son of Ni Sōng-ké, who commanded at Pyōng-yang, whereat Ni attacked the capital and took the King prisoner. The King abdicated in favour of his son Ch'ang, but the Emperor of China would not recognize him. Sōng-ké deposed him and put on the throne (or rather made regent) Wang Yo. Shortly afterwards Sōng-ké assumed the sovereign power himself, and sent Yo to live at Wōn-ju in Kang-wōn do, and with him ended the sovereignty of the Wang family, which had been on the throne of Korea ever since the epoch of the Five Dynasties in China (tenth century A.D.). I have everywhere given the Korean pronunciation of Chinese characters for names of Korean persons and places.

The Emperor said: "Kao-li is a small region in the far east, and is not under the rule of the Middle Kingdom (*fei Chung-kuo so chih*).¹ Let the Board of Rites inform it that so long as its rule is in conformity with the will of Heaven and in harmony with the hearts of men, and so long as it creates no strife on our borders, so long will its people be allowed to go and come and the kingdom will enjoy happiness; but we have no investigation to make in the matter (of the change of dynasty)."²

In the Winter of the same year Söng-ké sent letters of condolence to the Emperor upon the death of the heir to the throne, and asked to change the name of the dynasty. The Emperor ordered that it should assume its old name of *Chao-hsien* (The calm of dawn).

The above is the official account of the founding of the dynasty which still rules Korea, as found in the "Annals of the Ming Dynasty," Bk. 320, and of the attitude taken by the ruler of China in regard to the revolution which brought it to the throne. The tacit recognition by China of the new dynasty in Korea was, however, a most important event, and fully justified its new ruler in continuing the relations previously existing with the Empire, and showing its ruler the dutifulness due from a son to a father. But besides getting from Korea simple marks of deference, the emperors of the Ming derived profit from the valuable tribute which they exacted from the king in exchange for their friendship.

In 1393, Söng-ké sent the Emperor 9,800 and odd horses, 19,700 and odd pieces of hempen, linen, and cotton stuffs. The same year he sent a second mission with presents of horses, and requested that a new gold seal of office be given him.

¹ China does not appear ever to have appreciated the full importance of such statements, and the inference which foreign nations must draw from them that Korea was an independent state. China never overstepped the bounds which this admission of Korea's right to self-government carried with it, nor interfered in the management of the country, until 1882.

² The founder of the Chao-hsien Dynasty was born a few miles east of Ham-heung, the capital of Ham-gyong do. A hall has been built at his birthplace, and in it is still to be seen his portrait. (See W. R. Carles, *Report of a Journey*, etc., p. 27.)

In 1407, 3,000 head of horses were sent to China; but on reaching Liao-tung, and at the request of the Board of Revenue, there were sent instead 15,000 pieces of cotton lustring.

In 1423, Ni-to sent the Emperor 10,000 head of horses, when asking for the recognition of his son as heir to his throne.

In 1450, Korea sent the Emperor 500 horses, and made apologies for not sending the 20,000 or 30,000 asked for by the Emperor.

Many other examples might be adduced to show the valuable nature of the gifts made by Korea to its powerful neighbour.

Of the nature and extent of the commercial relations which existed between the two countries during the Ming Dynasty (1368-1628), the books at my disposal hardly enable me to judge. We know, however, that the annual missions to China did the bulk of the trading, and that the rest was done at the periodical fairs at Wi-ju on the Yalu River. No trade by sea between China and Korea was allowed by the latter state, and all Chinese shipwrecked on its coasts were sent to China by the land route.

The help in men and money which China gave Korea during the Japanese invasion,¹ the cannon and powder with which it had supplied it as early as 1461, may be cited among the proofs of its recognition of Korea's devotion to it. But naturally the weaker power had, in the earlier days of its existence at least, to give much more than it received.²

¹ It appears, however, more than likely that China would never have helped Korea at this critical period had it not entertained serious fears that the Japanese would attack China after having subdued Korea. This opinion is, in fact, borne out by the Ming Annals.

² Mr. James Scott makes the following interesting statement: "In 1392 the present dynasty began to reign, and the first king, desirous of accentuating his independence of China, resolved to abandon the use of Chinese writing as the official medium of correspondence, and invented an alphabet suited to the special requirements of the native vernacular. The Korean alphabet was published in 1447; but native conservatism proved too strong for even royal decrees, and the Korean script has become relegated to the lower masses and among women and children." (James Scott, *Stray Notes on Korean Literature and History*, in *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, n.s., vol. xxviii, p. 220.)

III.

THE MANCHU INVASIONS OF KOREA.¹

A DECREE of the forty-fifth year K'ang-hsi (A.D. 1706) says:—
 "Chao-hsien is among the outer barbarians the country which approximates the closest to China in its literature and customs. When the Emperor T'ai-sung-wên conquered in person that country, there was no spot throughout its eight provinces and its many islands where his troops did not penetrate. The kingdom was destroyed and brought to life again (through his bounty), and so the people of the country erected a commemorative tablet in stone at a place where the Emperor's headquarters had been, and his virtue is extolled to the present day."²

"They (the Koreans) are very deserving of praise. During the Ming period they never wavered in their allegiance, and from first to last they have never shown duplicity."

Great are these words of the Sovereign, and how they should stimulate foreign nations to perpetual loyalty!

Chao-hsien is (the same as) Ching-chou beyond the sea (mentioned in) the Tribute of Yü (*Yü kung*).³ Shun divided it off as Ying chou, and during the Chou Dynasty it was given as a fief to Ki-tzü. It was originally Chinese territory, and separated from Sheng-ching (Manchuria) by the Yalu River.

In the fourth year of T'ien-ming of the Emperor T'ai-tsu-kao (1619), 200,000 of the Ming troops invaded (Manchuria) by four roads, and Korea sent General Kang Hong-ip with

¹ Translated from the *Sheng-wu-chi* by Wei Yuan, Bk. vi, p. 10 et seq. See also C. Imbault Huard, *Journal Asiatique*, 7th series, xiv, pp. 308-340.

² This refers to the Songpha inscription at Sam-jön do, of which a translation is given further on.

³ See Legge's translation of the Shu king (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. iii), p. 65.

troops to assist the Hai and Kai divisions of the Ming army.¹ But while the two corps were encamped together at Pu-kö chal-pang² the winds suddenly shifted and sent down a deluge of rain, which rendered the firearms of the Ming army useless, so that our (Manchu) troops overcame them, and captured Kang Hong-ip and 5,000 men.

The Emperor sent General Kang and ten others back to the King of Korea, Ni-hu, with a letter, in which he said: "Formerly the Ming assisted you with troops (during your troubles with the Japanese), so it was only natural that you should assist the Ming with your soldiers, but it is not out of enmity for us. Now I send your general and your officers back to you for the sake of you, the king, and you may decide for yourself whether you shall rally to our cause or not."

The king having made up his mind, Korea did not offer any thanks (for this kindness).

The Korean troops repeatedly crossed their frontiers and opposed our troops engaged in Warka,³ and were constantly fighting with our Beileh of Wula Pu-chan-tai.

When the Emperor T'ai-tsu died, Korea sent no messages of condolence.

The Ming general, Mao Wên-lung, got together several tens of thousands of refugees from Liao-tung in the island of Pi-do, which is also known as Tong-gang, and is situated at the mouth of the Yalu River at 80 *li* from the Korean (coast) and from our eastern border. From there he made repeated forays on the seaboard towns and cantonments, causing us great annoyance, forming with Korea as it were a pair of horns (between which we were caught).

Having procured the services of two Korean deserters, Han Yun and Chang Mai, who had escaped to our country,

¹ *Hai kai chün*, which is explained to me as the Hai-chou and Kai-chou divisions of the army in Shan-tung.

² The text has *Fu cha* (in Korean *Pu chal*), which I have assumed is an abbreviation for *Fu-chu-cha-fang* (*Pu-kö-chal-pang* in Korean) in Ham-gyöng do.

³ Warka is north of the Yalu River and south of Mukden at the foot of the Chang-pai shan. It is conterminous with Korea. (Note in the *Sheng-wu-chi*.)

to act as guides, war was declared against Korea in the first year T'ien-tsung of the Emperor T'ai-tsung (1627), the seventh year T'ien-chi of the Ming, the third year of the reign of Ni-Sung of Korea.¹ In the first month, the Beileh Amin and others were ordered to take command of the troops and enter Korea. After fording the Yalu River, and defeating Mao Wên-lung's troops at Chhöl-san,² which fled back to Pi-do, the towns of Wi-ju and Jöng-ju and the fortress of Han-san were occupied, and myriads of soldiers and people killed and over 100,000 measures of grain destroyed.

The same month, the army, having crossed the Chhông-chhön gang,³ took An-ju, which place bore the name of An-si, when it was besieged by the first emperor of the T'ang Dynasty. The troops then occupied Ph्योंg-yang,⁴ from which place the officials and people had fled at their approach. After this they crossed the Ta-tong River and occupied Chung-hua.⁵

In the second month Huang-ju⁶ was captured, and consternation spread to the heart of the country. Succour was asked of the Ming, and numerous envoys were sent to try and arrange matters with us. The Ming governor of Liao-tung, Yüan Ch'ung-huan by name, sent a fleet to relieve Pi-do, and 9,000 picked troops took up a position on the San-ch'a ho,⁷ to close the road to our army (i.e. cut off its retreat). The Emperor, fearing the consequences of the stationing by the Ming of this corps of observation, went in person to defend the frontier and animate his troops, and the banks of the Liao were put in a state of defence.

¹ In 1623 the people of Korea deposed Ni-hu and put on the throne his nephew, the Prince of Ling-yang Ni Sung. (See *Ming shih*, Bk. 320, p. 27.)

² A second-class prefecture town in Pyöng-an do. The towns of Wi-ju and Jöng-ju are also situated in the same province.

³ The Ching-ch'uan Chiang of modern maps. It empties into the sea south-west of An-ju.

⁴ A second-class prefecture in Pyöng-an do, and a little west of the Ta-tong River.

⁵ Also in Pyöng-an do, near the border of the Hwang-hai do.

⁶ In Huang-hai do, on the Ta-tong River; it is a first-class prefecture.

⁷ The San-ch'a ho flows into the Liao ho a little above Niu-chuang.

At the same time the (Manchu) expeditionary forces to Korea were closing around Seoul, so Ni-sung took his wife and son and fled to the island of Kang-hua, sending repeatedly messengers to meet the army and confess his errors. Now the island of Kang-hua is south of Kai-ju,¹ and in the sea, so our army, being without any boats, could not cross over to it, but an envoy was sent to the island to communicate the Emperor's orders. In the meanwhile the troops stopped at Ph्योंg-san.²

Ni-sung sent a relative of his called Ni-gak, Prince of Wön-ch'ang, and others, with presents, consisting of 100 horses, 100 tiger-skins, and 100 panther-skins, 100 pieces of pongee and hemp cloth, and 15,000 pieces of cotton cloth as peace-offerings to the Emperor. After this envoys were sent to Kang-hua Island to make a treaty, and on the day *keng wu* of the third month, a white horse and a black ox³ having been slaughtered, (both parties) took an oath by Heaven and Earth when the negotiations were completed. The treaty was such as are concluded between kingdoms of elder and younger brothers. It had first been sought for by Korea; and the Beileh, in view of the danger of their two enemies, the Ming and the Mongols, cutting them off, and of the impossibility therefore of remaining long (in Korea), and being, moreover, well satisfied with the success of their operations, were willing to conclude a treaty. The Beileh Amin had, however, been so much pleased with the site of Seoul and the beauty of its palaces, that he was unwilling to have the army evacuate the country. So the Beileh Chi-erh-ha-lang and Yüeh-t'ò-shuo-t'ò, having secretly discussed the subject, ordered Amin to go to Ph्योंg-san, and while he was away they concluded the treaty. When the matter was finished they told Amin. Amin replied that

¹ I suppose Kai-sōng is meant. It is a second-class prefecture in Kyōng-ki do, north-east of Kang-hua Island.

² A large town in Huang-hai do on the main road to Seoul. It is a second-class prefecture.

³ It may be of interest to note that the black oxen used in Korea for royal sacrifices are exclusively supplied by Quelpart Island. They are sent in pairs, and always kept in readiness at all the towns on the road from Quelpart to Seoul, being forwarded to the capital as required.

he had made no treaty, so he ravaged the whole country. Later on, however, Ni-gak made a treaty with him at the town of Phyöng-yang. The Emperor (in the meanwhile) sent a courier to Amin with orders to commit no further ravages whatsoever, and to leave a detachment of 3,000 men to garrison Wi-ju on his march back.

In the fourth month Ni-gak came to court with the (returning) troops, and in the Autumn of the same year Ni-sung requested the recall of the Wi-ju garrison, pledging himself to redeem all the people who had been made captives. The amount of the presents to be sent alternately in Spring and Autumn to the Emperor was agreed upon, as also the question of the fair for the peoples of both countries at Chung-gang.¹

The same year, the Ming commander-in-chief, Yüan Ch'ung-huan, killed Mao Wên-lung at Shuang-tao,² and the troops of the islands were without a chief.

In the third year (1629), our army routed the Ming, and their general Yüan Ch'ung-huan was put to death for his former misdeeds.

In the fifth year (1631), the islands (off the Korean coast) having been occupied, thanks to their unprotected condition, ships of war were sent to Korea; and an envoy arrived at Seoul. He was received in audience the third day after his arrival, when Ni-sung said to him: "The Ming Dynasty is as a father; how can I be expected to help to destroy my father!" From this time onwards the treaty (of 1627) was gradually more and more disregarded.

In the seventh year (1632), the Emperor wrote to Ni-sung

¹ Chung-gang (*Chung Chiang* in Chinese) means 'mid river.' It is the name of a small island about a mile wide near the north bank of the main channel of the Yalu River at Wi-ju. It is Chinese territory, and frontier trade is still carried on there. There is a Chinese custom-house and a small warehouse on the island. (See W. R. Carles, *Report of a Journey*, etc., pp. 14-15.) The same writer says that Wi-ju contains at the present day a population of about 30,000 persons. On the new regulations for trade at Chung-gang after the conclusion of the trade regulations between China and Korea of 1882, see *Foreign Relations of the United States* for 1883, p. 173 et seq., and *Peking Gazette*, Sept. 27th, 1883.

² There is an island of this name off Shan-tung Province, but I do not know if this is the place referred to.

charging him with cutting down the annual gifts, harbouring refugees from our country, stealing our ginseng and cattle. He also charged him with designs of ceasing to send envoys, and of closing the (Chung-gang) market to our people.

In the Summer (of the same year), the brigadier-general under Mao Wên-lung, Kung Yo-tê by name, and also Kêng Chung-ming, Shang K'o-shi, and others, deserted the Ming, and with a fleet and 20,000 men set to sea from Têng-chou, and came and made their submission (to the Manchus).

A mission was sent to Korea to levy tribute-grain with these words: "Your country looks upon the Ming as a father, and many times you have sent them tribute-rice. Now we are your elder brother, can you not give it us once?" But Ni-sung would not agree to it. Wait (he said) until Kung Yo-tê has left Shen-yang (Sheng-ching, i.e. Mukden), and we will send of ourselves officers on ships and forward rice as a subsidy.¹ As to the question of the Hui-ning refugees and the Pu-chan-tai people, it has been the subject of frequent communications. He forthwith hastened the building of twelve walled cities in the provinces of Kyōng-kwi do, Huang-hai do, and Phyōng-an do.

The Emperor's letter charged Ni-sung with breaking the Wi-ju market treaty, (in that he had) stopped our satins and linens and depreciated the value of our ginseng.² As to the Warka people, they were of a Nü-chen (Tungusic) tribe, and not to be compared with the Pu-chan-tai Mongols, for they are said to be of the same stock as ourselves (i.e. Manchus), as may be seen by referring to the Liao and Chin dynastic histories.

In the Spring of the eighth year (1634) the Emperor, being desirous of concluding a treaty with the Ming, ordered Ni-sung to inform them of the fact; but Ni-sung wrote to the general at Pi-do in such terms that no treaty was made.

¹ My translation of this passage is subject to correction.

² Formerly the value of an ounce of (our) ginseng had been Tls. 16, but Korea only gave Tls. 9 (for it). When first Wu Han-cha went to Ninguta, he cooked half a catty of ginseng and ate it; on going back he had diarrhoea. So cheap was ginseng in the early days. (Note of the *Sheng-wu-chi*.)

That Winter an envoy of Ni-sung came rejecting the demand for the (Hui-ning) refugees and that concerning the (Chung-gang) market. He used most arrogant language, and wished to take precedence over our high ministers. The Emperor was angered at this, refused the gifts, and would have nothing more to do with the King's envoy.

When first Korean envoys came to our Court, they exchanged frequent courtesies (with our high officers). We on our part sent envoys to Korea to condole at the death of the King's father, mother, or consort. The King's letters (to the Emperor) were called *feng shu*, or "respectful dispatch," and his tribute *sui pi*, or "annual presents." The expression *kuei kuo*, or "honoured country," was reciprocally used, and instead of *pi kuo*, "humble country," the expression *pu ku*, "the unworthy one," was used, in accordance with usages prevailing between neighbouring countries which are on a footing of equality.¹

At this time the Manchu troops had subdued the Chahar tribes of Lingdan Khan and possessed themselves of the dynastic seal of the Yüan.² In view of this the Beileh Pa-ho-shuo and forty-nine Beileh of the outer barbarians and Mongols petitioned the Emperor to take an additional title.³ The Emperor replied, "Korea is a younger brother country, with whom it is also necessary to discuss the question." So the inner and outer Beileh wrote letters and sent messengers, asking Korea to join with them in

¹ Paragraph 24 of the Rules agreed upon between China and Korea for traffic on the frontier between Liao-tung and Korea, etc., in March, 1883, referring to correspondence between officials of the two countries, says: "The despatches to be exchanged must be drawn up in accordance with the customary rules of politeness. Koreans must speak of China as 'The Heavenly Court' (*T'ien Chao*) and as 'The Superior Country' (*Shang Kuo*), and in the ordinary correspondence they must also use the style prescribed by Government; they must not resort to careless scribbling. The use of the character *Chung* for China and *Tung* for Korea is forbidden by Rule; and, in order to show due national consideration, the Chinese authorities on the frontier in Liao-tung will write *Ch'ao-hsien Kuo* for Korea, and speak of *Kuei Kuo* ('respected country') when writing about or to Korea." (See Hertslet, *Treaties, etc., between Great Britain and China*, etc., i, 138.)

² See H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, i, p. 379. The Ming had never held this seal. It was held by the Chahar prince lineally representing the Mongol Dynasty. See also *China Review*, vol. xv, p. 323.

³ Or "petitioned the Emperor to take the title of Emperor of China."

requesting the Emperor to add to his titles. Not only did the Koreans disagree to the proposal, but they set a guard of soldiers over the envoy. At this the envoy Ying-o-erh-tai and his suite seized horses and fled from the city. Ni-sung sent a messenger bearing a letter after him, and also wrote to the high officer at the frontier to keep a strict watch.

This was a breach of the terms of the peace of the *ting mao* year (1627); it was imperative to interrupt all communications; the envoy continued his flight and reported the occurrence to the Emperor.

In the tenth year T'ien-tsung, the eighth year of Ming Ch'ung-chêng, the fourth month of the first year Tsung-tê (1636), the Korean envoy Ni Kek and others came to Court to congratulate the Emperor; but they did not make obeisance. The Emperor sent the King a letter ordering him to send hostages. To this no reply was made.

At this time the Emperor with the tributary Mongols had utterly routed the Ming army, and the country was in security. So it was that in the eleventh month, after having sacrificed to Heaven and Earth and made sacrifice to the god of war, at the T'ai-miao and the T'ang-tzü, the Emperor started on an expedition to punish Korea for having broken the treaty.

In the twelfth month (1637), the Mongols having concentrated their forces, the Emperor ordered the Chêng Ch'in-wang Chi-erh-ha-lang to see to the defence of the country. The Wu-ying Chün-wang A-chi-ko and the To-lo jao-yu Beileh Apat'ai he ordered to hold the Liao River and the coast ports, so as to cover the country from an attack by the Ming fleet. He ordered the Jui Ch'in-wang To-erh-kun and the Beileh Hao-ko to take the left wing of the Manchu-Mongol forces, and from K'uan-tien to enter (Korea) by the Ch'ang-shan pass. He commanded the Yü Ch'in-wang To-to and others to take 1,500 men of the vanguard and capture Seoul by a *coup de main*, the Beileh Yüeh-t'o and others with 3,000 men supporting him.

The Emperor with the Li Ch'in-wang¹ Tai-shan and others

¹ The Prince of Li gained for himself by his bravery in this campaign the popular title of Prince of Korea (*Kao-li Wang-yeh*), which the head of the family still bears.

entered Korea with the main army, amounting to 100,000 men. They having crossed the Chin-gang and camped at Kuak-san,¹ Jöng-ju and An-ju surrendered. The army then marched to the Im-jin gang. This river is a hundred and odd *li* north of the capital of the kingdom, and Seoul is between it and Han-gang, which is south of the capital.² At this time of the year the ice was not solid over the whole river; but just as the army carts arrived on its banks, the ice suddenly closed, and the whole army was able to cross over on it.

Three hundred cavalrymen under Ma-fu-t'a, belonging to the Yü Ch'in-wang's vanguard, stole up to Seoul and routed several thousand picked troops. Ni-sung in dismay sent messengers to welcome (our troops) and to wait on them outside the city, treating the soldiers with great courtesy. In the meanwhile he sent his wife and son to Kang-hua Island, while he with his best troops crossed the river and shut himself up in Nam Han-san, the strongest place in his kingdom.³ Our troops entered the capital, and Yü the Ch'in-wang and the Beileh Yüeh-to who had captured Phyöng-yang arrived there also. The whole force then crossed the river and invested Nam Han-san. They defeated three bodies of troops sent to relieve the place and also the forces in the fortress. At this time the three hundred and odd families from Warka who had formerly fled to Korea all came and asked to return to their native land.

The Emperor arrived, and, having divided the police service of Seoul among the troops, crossed the river with the army and defeated the relieving forces from Chöl-la do

¹ A third-class prefecture on the high road from Wi-ju to Pyöng-yang and Seoul.

² The Im-jin gang has a general direction from north-east to south-west, and flows into the Han-gang a little south-east of the town of Ni-tök.

³ The Han-gang is also called the Ung-jin gang, and is a most important defence of Seoul. All Government money and tribute-rice is brought by it. (Note of *Sheng-wu-chi*.) This fortress is generally called the Kuang-ju fortress, and is about 11 miles from Seoul. Mr. G. C. Foulk gives its height above sea-level as 1,350 feet. He says that on the occasion spoken of in these pages it was defended against the Chinese army by its villagers and 120 soldiers. (See *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1885, p. 326.)

and Chhung-chhông do. Then he sent a letter (to the King) censuring the conduct of his high ministers of state.

In the first month of the following year (February, 1637), the army crossed to the north bank of the river, where it camped 20 *li* to the east of Seoul. The Jui Ch'in-wang, entering (Korea) by the Chang-shan pass, had taken Ch'ang-ju,¹ and having defeated 15,000 men composing the relieving forces of An-ju, Huang-ju, Yöng-ju, and neighbouring places, he made his junction (with the main forces). When the Beileh To-to was sending his artillery (towards Seoul), on it reaching the Im-jin gang the ice which was thawing froze tight again (so that it could cross over).

Prior to this the King of Korea, Ni-sung, had despatched a message to the Ming Emperor informing him of the grave events occurring, and had also sent warning to all the provinces of his kingdom. The prudent king was anxious to keep on the defensive until the auxiliary forces arrived, but the Empire of the Ming was reduced to extremities, the land was everywhere covered with bands of brigands, and it was not in a position to help its neighbour. The (Ming) general of Têng-Lai,² Ch'en Hung-fan, set to sea with a fleet (to help Korea), but contrary winds prevented his crossing the sea.

The troops from the eastern and southern provinces of Korea had all been successively routed and dispersed. The western and northern forces were hidden among the mountains, and dared not advance. In Seoul provisions were nearly exhausted, and our army had gone over all the provinces like roaring thunder or the fiery blast.

Ni-sung having again written to the Emperor begging for peace, he replied throwing the responsibility of the war on him, and ordered him to come out of the fortress into his presence, and to deliver up those who had been his counsellors in breaking the treaty. Ni-sung then wrote to the Emperor saying: "Your vassal (*Ch'en*) begs that he may not have to come out of the fortress."

¹ A strongly fortified place on the Yalu River above Wi-ju.

² The Têng-Lai Ch'ing circuit in Shan-tung Province.

In the meanwhile the queen and the crown prince, together with the families of the high ministers of state, were on Kang-hua Island. The Jui Ch'in-wang put to sea in some barges, and having sunk with his cannon thirty large boats of the Koreans, crossed over to Kang-hua, where he defeated the garrison of over 1,000 men and entered the island fortress. He captured the queen, the crown prince, and their household, 76 persons in all, and 166 persons belonging to the families of the high ministers of state. These were, however, all treated like guests and assigned separate apartments. Then the Emperor issued a proclamation saying: "Ni-sung's island of Kang-hua has been taken, but his family has been subjected to no hardship; let him at once, as previously directed, leave the citadel and come into our presence."

Ni-sung sent to the Emperor's headquarters those who had advised him to break the treaty: En-ki, a Kyo-ri¹ of the Hong-mun Kuan, Wo Tal-ché, the Compiler of the Academy, and Hong I-han, chief Councillor of State.

The Emperor then ordered the King to give him the patent of investiture and the seal which he had received from the Ming, to offer his allegiance, to give him two of his sons as hostages, to adopt the (Manchu) new year,² and to send each year tribute (*kung*) with a congratulatory address (*piao*). In case of war he would have to raise an auxiliary force and furnish supplies to the army. He was not to erect fortresses (or walled cities) at his pleasure, or give refuge to fugitives. On these conditions the boundaries of the fief (*fêng*) which his ancestors had held for the last three hundred years would be assured to him and suffer no changes.

¹ *Kyo-ri*, or Secretary of the Hong-mun office, a historical library, the officials of which were very near the King, and kept him posted in matters of history. The Secretary alluded to also heard the King read a passage of history every three days, and corrected him if he made mistakes. See also F. Scherzer, *Tchao-sien-tohe*, in *Journ. Asiat.*, Aug.-Oct., 1885, p. 198.

² That is to say, adopt the Chinese calendar, which is, according to Chinese customs, a proof of recognition of Chinese suzerainty. The almanac was given each year in the tenth month (latter part of November) to a special Korean envoy who came to Peking to receive it.

Ni-sung with bowed head received the Imperial commands.

In the second month (the King) came out of the fortress with several tens of horsemen, and built on the (south-)east bank of the Han gang at Sam-jon do¹, an altar, and erected a yellow tent. Then the Emperor with an escort, having crossed the river, ascended the altar to the sound of music, while his officers in armour lined the way. Ni-sung, escorted by his ministers, left Nam Han-san, and when five *li* (from the altar) proceeded the rest of the way on foot. Our Emperor sent a messenger to welcome him when he was a *li* off, and to inform him of the ceremonies to be performed. The Emperor having descended to receive Ni-sung, both of them together with the King's sons and his ministers worshipped Heaven.

This ceremony ended, the Emperor took up his former position, when Ni-sung and his suite fell to the ground and acknowledged their transgressions, which the Emperor pardoned, when Ni-sung and his sons and ministers respectfully bowed their heads nine times in thanks. The Emperor then told the King to take a seat at the foot of the altar on the left-hand side facing the west, taking precedence of all the princes (*Wang*). The ceremonies being ended, the Prince (*Chün*), his ministers, and their families returned to Seoul.

In the second month all the troops in the provinces were ordered to concentrate (at Seoul) and to march westward. Ni-sung and his sons and ministers escorted (the Emperor) ten *li* outside the city, and kneeling down bade him good-bye.

The Emperor issued a decree stating that, in view of the sufferings of Korea through the recent military operations, he remitted the tribute for the years *ting chou* (1637) and *wu yin* (1638), and that the first tribute would be that of the Autumn of the year *chi mao* (1639). In case Korea was not in a position at any time to meet its obligations, the Emperor would devise means of arranging matters.

¹ Sam-jon-do is a post station south of Seoul and between that town and the prefectural city of Kuang-ju.

The Korean Ministers of State and the people erected a monument at the foot of the altar at San-jön do to commemorate the Emperor's goodness.¹

In the fourth month, Ni-sung's hostage-sons Wang and Ho arrived (at Mukden).

In the fifth month, the Ming troops on Pi-do were attacked, General Kung Yo-tê and others who had deserted the Ming acting as guides, and Korean war vessels being made use of. Several tens of thousands of persons were captured on the island; after which (our troops) returned, nor did the Ming thereafter occupy the island.

In the third year of Ch'ung-tê (1638), the Emperor, being desirous of crushing the Ming, ordered the Korean troops to co-operate with his, but they were so dilatory that he had to address reproaches to the King. The Emperor then ordered him to send a fleet to reduce those Kurka of the eastern border who, having rebelled, had fled to Ung do; this he did, capturing the rebel leader, who was brought to the Emperor.

In the sixth year (1641), our army having attacked the Ming troops at Chin-chou,² a Korean fleet with 5,000 men was ordered to convey 10,000 piculs of tribute-rice. After a while Ni-sung reported that the thirty-two war vessels and grain junks with all their crews and rice had been lost at sea. The Emperor, seeing that tribute-rice fleets had previously been exposed to severe weather without the whole fleet having ever thus been lost, reprimanded the King, who hastened to send a second time the 10,000 piculs of rice. This fleet was composed of 115 ships, which started out from the mouths of the Ta-ling and Hsiao-ling Rivers. When off San-shan tao, over fifty ships were wrecked, and others were captured by the Ming fleet. Fifty-two ships reached Kai-chou in safety, but they could advance no further, so they requested to complete the transportation by land, but the Emperor refused to allow them to do so. Three of the Korean vessels

¹ See *infra*, Chap. VI, p. 40, the translation of this inscription.

² Chin-chou Fu on the Hsiao-ling ho in the Fêng-Chin-Shan-hai circuit of Sheng-ching.

(he said) had sailed into Ming waters and delivered letters. Furthermore, when falling in with Ming war vessels they had not acted with them as with enemies, and now they had stopped on the way : " We do not want this grain ; you may throw it on the road or take it back to your country, just as you choose."

The Korean minister Ni Kyöng-ep, alarmed at this, requested to be permitted to brave the dangers of transporting the grain, and the Emperor allowed him to take the overland route and to retain in his service a thousand Koreans as match-lock men and 500 as camp-followers, all the others to return home. But neither the tribute-rice nor the soldiers arriving, the Emperor sent an envoy to Korea to complain of the conduct of the Ministers of State. The envoy proved that the President Kim Syeng-heuk-ni and the Minister of the Council Shin Teuk-yöng had caused the delay, and reported the facts to the Throne.

In the seventh year (1642) took place the great defeat of Chin-chou, after which the Ming sent envoys to make peace. This the Emperor was willing to do, but all his generals were anxious to carry on the war. The Emperor wrote to Ni-sung asking his advice. Ni-sung replied, " Not to kill but to give peace to the people is to act in conformity with the will of Heaven."

Later on it was discovered that two ships of the Ming had come to Korea. The Emperor made strict inquiries, after which the Minister of the Council Soi Myeng-ki, General Im Kyöng-ep, and others were arrested for having secretly kept up communication with the Ming, and were punished after trial.

In the ninth month of the eighth year (November, 1643), the Emperor Shih - tsu - chang (Shun - chih) ascended the throne, and one-third of the Korean tribute for the year was remitted in conformity with the Emperor T'ai-tsung's dying commands.

In the first year of Shun-chih (1644), on the re-establishment of peace, the Korean hostages were sent home and one-half of the year's tribute was remitted.

Furthermore, a general pardon was granted (by the King) to all Korean criminals condemned to death.

During the three reigns K'ang-hsi, Yung-chêng, and Ch'ien-lung the tribute was frequently remitted, only one-tenth being kept; and notwithstanding the fact that Korea belonged to the outer barbarian nations, it was assimilated to the Chinese.

From the K'ang-hsi reign, whenever there has been a famine in Korea, grain has been sent there by junks to relieve it; and whenever there has been a rebellion in the land, troops and myriads of taels as subsidy have been given to assist in its repression.

IV.

OFFICIAL INTERCOURSE.

THE extract from the *Sheng-wu-chi* translated in the preceding chapter supplies a general account of the earliest relations between Korea and the Ta Ch'ing Dynasty of China. We will now examine, with the help of the Dynastic Institutes of the Ta Ch'ing (*Ta Ch'ing Hui-tien*), the character and extent of the intercourse between the two countries since the invasion of 1637.

The treaty of 1637 provided that Korea should send yearly tribute-bearing missions to the Manchu Court. The tribute originally demanded was to consist of 100 ounces of gold, 1,000 ounces of silver, 200 pieces of grass cloth, 200 pieces of a mixed silk and cotton stuff, 4,400 pieces of cotton stuffs of various colours, 2 mats with dragon patterns, 20 mats with variegated patterns, 100 deer-skins, 400 otter-skins, 142 leopard-skins, 300 black squirrel-skins,¹ 10 girdle knives, 5,000 rolls of large and small paper, and 100 piculs of rice.

The amount of tribute was gradually decreased, and in 1723 the Emperor issued a decree stating that "Chao-hsien has from early days been obedient to our dynasty, and has been sedulously vigilant as a neighbouring country. On many occasions when bringing tribute to Court in obedience to the Imperial will, certain articles of it have, as a special act of grace, been remitted. Let now the Board of Rites inquire what portion of the tribute that is still due can henceforth be remitted.

"The Board of Rites reported that during the Ming

¹ The text has *ching shu*, 'black millet'; the latter character is probably an error for *shu*, 'rat.' This error occurs in several passages of the *Hui-tien*. Cf. Dallet, op. sup. cit., i, p. xv.

period the Korean tribute comprised gold and silver utensils, ginseng, horses, and ten different varieties of grass cloth, mixed cotton and silk fabrics, etc. In 1637, one-half of the tribute due the Emperor was remitted. In 1640, 9,000 bags of tribute-rice were remitted. In the Shun-chih reign (1644-1662), all the gold and silver utensils, the ginseng, and the horses were permanently remitted.

"In 1693, Korea was dispensed from sending the 100 ounces of gold and 100 of silver, the blue and red dye, and 600 pieces of cotton stuff.

"In 1712, the whole 1,000 ounces of silver and the 142 leopard-skins were remitted, the tribute being thus reduced to less than half what it was in the Ming period.

"The following articles can now be done away with: 300 black squirrel-skins, 100 otter-skins, 800 pieces of cotton piece goods, and 2,000 rolls of white cotton-made paper; the balance of the tribute to remain as heretofore."¹

Besides sending the annual tribute mission, the King of Korea sent representatives to the Chinese Court to congratulate the Emperor on New Year's Day and also on special occasions of rejoicing—as in 1763, when the Empress celebrated her 80th birthday, or in 1785, on the Emperor Ch'ien-lung's jubilee. It was also customary, when the Emperor went to Manchuria to visit his ancestral tombs, for the King of Korea to send him congratulatory messages and presents. Thus in 1682, when the Emperor K'ang-hsi visited his ancestral tombs, the King of Korea sent an envoy and the following presents: leopard, deer, otter, and black squirrel-skins, Japanese swords, haliotis shells, various kinds of fish, edible seaweed, red shells, chili pepper, white honey, pine-nuts, apricot-seeds, yellow chestnuts (?), and dried persimmons.

Down to 1715 it was also customary for the King of Korea to send missions to return thanks to the Emperor for any favour which he had bestowed on him; but from that date the Emperor requested them to be discontinued.

¹ *Ta Ch'ing Hui-tien*, ch. 393.

Concerning the ceremonial followed for the annual missions which the Kings of Korea used to send to the Emperor of China, we are told that "at the beginning of the year, as well as at that of the great cold (period) and on the principal feasts, the King, accompanied by the Princes, his sons, and by his officers, performs the ceremony called *wang kuei li* (i.e. the kotow ceremony). On each of these occasions he sends an embassy bearing a letter of homage to the Emperor of China.

"The King, still followed by the Princes, his sons, and by his officers, goes through the four prostrations in honour of the Imperial Throne. The King on his knees takes the letter which he puts in his envoy's hands, then he makes three bows and escorts the bearer of the letter sent to the Throne as far as outside the city. . . .

"The King observes the same ceremonies when he goes out to meet his ambassadors coming back to China."¹

The fact was that the Koreans sought by every means to increase the number of these missions to China, for they travelled at the expense of the Chinese Government, and, being allowed to bring goods for sale at the capital duty free, they constituted a source of great profit to the King and his officers.

Besides the presents which the Emperors sent the Kings of Korea by their envoys on their return home, special envoys have on all occasions been sent to carry the Emperor's letters to the kings, approving their acts or condoling with them for deaths in their families. A narrative of the ceremonies observed on the arrival at Seoul of such missions will be found in the translation given further on of an extract from the diary of Po Chün, who was sent on a special mission to Korea in 1843.

In all times of internal warfare or discord in Korea, China has observed a strict neutrality, and has always closed her frontiers on fugitives from Korea. For example, in 1729 the Emperor Yung-chêng, at the request of the King of

¹ F. Scherzer, *Tchao-sien-tche* (*Journ. Asiat.*, Aug.-Oct., 1885), p. 208.

Korea, gave him 10,000 taels to assist in suppressing a revolt in his kingdom. A decree was issued at the same time by the Emperor ordering the officers at the frontier barriers and elsewhere to seize any fugitives who might present themselves, and forward them to the capital, "for it is the policy of our dynasty to endeavour to have such men punished." In case any Chinese subjects should secrete such rebel fugitives, they were to be severely punished.¹

In 1777, the Emperor Ch'ien-lung issued the following decree:—"The King of Chao-hsien has written to Us that in the matter of the conspiracy of Hong In-han and others the chief culprits have been put to death. He fears, however, that there are many persons implicated in the plot, and that possibly some have escaped and are in concealment, and he requests that the officers at the barriers be instructed to look out for such criminals and apprehend any they may find.

"The rulers of Chao-hsien have long been devoted to Us, and have ever shown due reverence; now as the King is apprehensive lest any of the rebels escape, We have informed him that We would adopt measures for preventing any of them entering China surreptitiously.

"Let this be communicated to the Tartar general at Mukden, and to the Governor of Shan-tung, so that officers along the Korean frontier and on the coast roads may be instructed by them to use the utmost diligence in this matter. . . . Any Korean arrested shall be handed over to the authorities of his country to be dealt with"²

Among the different questions which have arisen between the Governments of Peking and Seoul, the following may be mentioned:—

In 1731, the Tartar general at Mukden asked the Emperor to authorize the erection of a military station at Mang-niu-shao, at the confluence of the Ts'ao ho with the Ai ho.³ The Emperor approved of the suggestion, but stated that, the

¹ *Ta Ch'ing Hui-tien*, ch. 399.

² *Ta Ch'ing Hui-tien*, ch. 399.

³ The Ts'ao ho flows into the Ai ho a short distance east of the Fêng-huang barrier of stakes. The Ai ho flows into the Yalu a little above Wi-ju.

place mentioned being on the Korean frontier, the Board of Rites must address the King and ask his approval and consent. The King of Korea replied, begging that the old order of things be adhered to, and the Emperor issued a decree accordingly.

In 1746, this question was brought up again, as was also that of opening up to settlers the 'no-man's-land' between the Barrier of stakes and the Korean frontier. The King of Korea wrote to the Emperor opposing both measures. The Emperor replied as follows:—"We have the greatest consideration for Korea, and have heretofore bestowed many favours upon it. Now as to this question of erecting a watch station at Mang-niu-shao, it has been carefully looked into. It is situated on the Korean frontier, and the proposed measure cannot cause trouble or disturb the peace. Moreover, it is to the equal advantage of both countries. Notwithstanding this, the King tells Us that it is inexpedient, and earnestly requests that the project be abandoned. As We cannot possibly know the exact character of this section of country, let it therefore be examined into and a report made to Us. If the locality is really within the frontier of China, then the establishment of a military guard-house to prevent brigandage, establish order, and guard the frontier is a necessary measure.

"As to the King of Korea's request that the post be not established because the locality in question is debatable land, it is impossible not to have doubtful places, as his frontier is intricately mixed with Ours, so We cannot countermand Our orders as the King request.

"As to the question of opening to agriculture land outside the Barrier of stakes, a subject which has in former times been under deliberation, the King of Korea asks that there be left as heretofore a hundred and odd *li* of uninhabited land outside the Barrier of stakes of Fêng-huang-ch'êng, as an obstacle to intercourse between the two countries and as a means of preventing a congregating of people on the frontier, which would create all kinds of trouble. This request is approved of; so the prohibition concerning

settling on the land outside the barrier of Fêng-huang-ch'êng will remain in vigour as heretofore."¹

In all cases where Koreans passed on to Chinese territory and there committed crimes for which they were seized by the Chinese authorities, or in cases where the crimes were committed on Korean territory by Chinese subjects, the culprits were handed over to the authorities of their respective countries to be dealt with.¹

The commercial relations existing between the two countries now demand our consideration.

The regular trade between Korea and China was transacted (1) twice a year at Chung gang, near Wi-ju, on the Yalu River, and (2) by the annual Korean missions to Peking.

The fair at Wi-ju was held twice a year in the second and the eighth months, and the trading was done on the part of the Chinese by the military stationed in the Fêng-huang and Fêng-t'ien Fu (Mukden) districts.²

In 1736, the Emperor Ch'ien-lung issued a decree stating that "heretofore the officers and troops of the banner corps stationed at the frontier posts have gone each year in the second month with merchandise to Chung-chiang (Chung gang), to trade there with the Koreans. We consider that these bannermen's sole duty is to watch and patrol, and that they have no time for trading, and moreover they know nothing about mercantile operations. It is also to be feared that this trading prevents a proper surveillance of people arriving on the frontier. This system has, therefore, many inconveniences. Hereafter (the trade will be open to all and) the custom officer at Chung-chiang will carefully watch all Chinese who are trading with Koreans, so that trade shall be carried on without partiality, extortion, or brawls."³

¹ See *Ta Ch'ing Hui-tien*, ch. 399. In 1875, this neutral strip between China and Korea was incorporated into the Chinese domain, on the proposition of Li Hung-chang. It appears probable that this territory belonged originally to China. See W. R. Carles, *Report of a Journey in the North of Corea*, p. 14. See also on the organization of the neutral strip, *Peking Gazette*, April 14th and Sept. 18th, 1877.

² See decree of 1704 in *Ta Ch'ing Hui-tien*, Bk. 399; also *Peking Gazette*, May 14th, 1877, and Oct. 8th, 1876.

³ *Ta Ch'ing Hui-tien*, Bk. 398.

The following year, however, the King of Korea wrote to the Emperor requesting that the old order of things be reverted to, and his request was acceded to.

A small trade was carried on between Kirin and Ninguta and Korea, but the most valuable articles from those localities, such as sable, sea otter, river otter, lynx-skins, etc., were not allowed to be exported.¹

The number of persons authorized to accompany the Korean missions to Peking for purposes of trade, and the quantity of goods they might bring with them, do not appear to have been determined by regulation. Not so, however, the road which they might follow, which was that by Fêng-huang-ch'êng and Shan-hai kuan.

In 1748 the Board of Rites issued the following notification : " When Koreans enter Shan-hai kuan ² with merchandise of Korean origin, the Superintendent of customs must examine whether they agree in quantity and description with those reported to him by the official at Fêng-huang-ch'êng.

" Koreans going out by Shan-hai kuan with merchandise will pay no duties if the goods they have agree with the list forwarded by the Board of Rites. Goods not mentioned in the list and not of Korean origin will pay regular duties. As to the trick of travellers smuggling goods concealed on their persons, they must be searched to see that they carry no prohibited goods, and in case they do, the superintendent must report to the Board of Rites for the punishment of the offenders."

On arriving in Peking, the number of Korean traders was reported to the Throne, and permission given them to trade, but there were many articles which they were not allowed to purchase, such as arms, munitions of war, the

¹ See *Ta Ch'ing Hui-tien*, Bk. 399, 44th Ch'ien-lung. Questions have frequently arisen between the Chinese and Korean authorities caused by hunters of the latter nationality crossing over into Chinese territory to hunt fur-bearing animals. See for example the case which occurred in 1763. *Ta Ch'ing Hui-tien*, Bk. 399, 28th Ch'ien-lung. The Chinese Government has often had to complain of Koreans hunting for mountain ginseng on Chinese territory.

² Shan-hai kuan is on the high road between Wi-ju and Peking, at the eastern extremity of the Great Wall, and is the frontier post of Chih-li in that direction.

dynastic histories of China,¹ horn for making bows, etc. These restrictions were not against Koreans alone, but applied to all foreigners trading in China. Special restrictions on Korean trade seem to have been directed against the exportation of silver and metals.² Thus, in 1793, the King of Korea asked that the goods which he had sent to Peking might be exchanged for money to be taken back for use in his kingdom. The request was refused.

In 1807, an imperial decree threatened the officials on the Korean frontier with degradation if they allowed cash or copper or iron to be exported to Korea.³

The only restriction on the export trade of Korea was put on ginseng, which was a royal monopoly. In 1759 the King of Korea wrote to the Chinese Government stating: "In the matter of the trade in ginseng, which is a natural product of our kingdom, though the crop is accidentally short this year, it is not usually rare (and therefore constitutes an important article of trade). The King requests that the regulations of 1653 governing the matter, and which prohibit buying it as an (ordinary) medicinal substance, be put in force again. He does not request that it be forbidden to buy ginseng, but that the trade be no longer carried on according to the existing regulations."⁴

No direct trade by sea has ever been allowed between China and Korea prior to the treaties with Western nations. As early as 1637, the Manchus issued orders to the effect that all Chinese merchants coming to Korea by sea should be sent back to their country.

In 1717, the Peking Board of Rites issued the following notification:—"Hereafter, when Chinese reach Korea through

¹ In 1691, one of the members of the Korean mission bought a full set of the dynastic histories. The culprit was degraded by the King of Korea, and sent to military servitude on the frontier, and the chief of the mission received the imperial censure. See *Ta Ch'ing Hui-tien*, Bk. 399, 30th K'ang-hsi.

² I note also in the *Ta Ch'ing Hui-tien*, Bk. 399, that in 1729 the Siamese envoys had to obtain special permission to purchase ten loads of copper wire for exportation to their country.

³ See also *Ta Ch'ing Hui-tien*, Bk. 399, 14th Chia-Ch'ing, the case of Kung Feng-lai et al.

⁴ *Ta Ch'ing Hui-tien*, Bk. 398.

stress of weather, if they have passports and no business to transact, they shall be sent home according to established rules. If they have no passports and have surreptitiously crossed the river frontier for purposes of business, the King of Korea shall have them seized, judged, and punished according to the laws of the kingdom: the Korean authorities reporting to the Board of Rites what they have done in the matter."¹

The right to fish on the Korean coasts was not conceded to China by Korea, most probably so as not to encourage smuggling. In 1712, the Emperor K'ang-hai issued a decree stating: "In former times fishing-boats were strictly forbidden to frequent the Korean coast, but at present boats go on the coasts of Korea and fish. This is an act of piracy. Henceforth the Koreans may pursue and capture such persons. If captured alive, they must at once be sent back to China."

The rules issued to prevent smuggling over the land frontier were no less stringent on the part of China. In 1715 the Emperor stated to the Board of Rites: "As regards persons surreptitiously crossing the Yalu River, a communication will be addressed to the Tartar General at Mukden, the Prefect of Fêng-t'ien Fu, and the different governors-general that they instruct the naval authorities along the coast to capture and punish all persons caught in the attempt. Moreover, the King of Korea has been written to (*tsü wen*)² with a request that he give stringent orders to his troops stationed along the seaboard to be continually on the look-out for persons crossing the frontier without permission, to apprehend them and send them back to China."

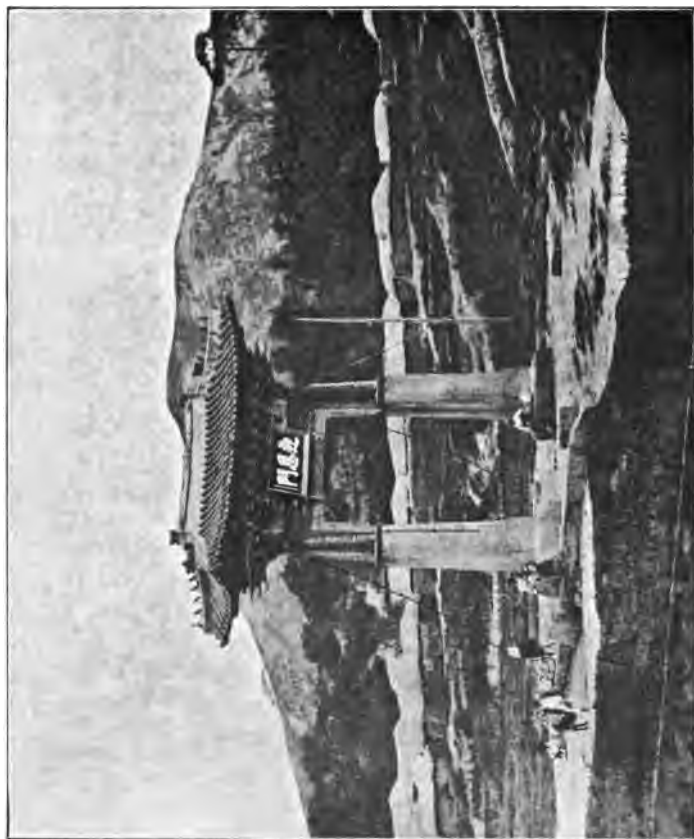
We know by the accounts given us by the French missionaries when they attempted to enter Korea how well these orders were executed down to the signing of the treaties.

It should be stated that all questions which had to be submitted by Korea to the Chinese Government were addressed

¹ *Ta Ch'ing Hui-tien*, Bk. 399.

² *Tsü wen* designates the official dispatch between equals. It is probable that in the present case it was the Peking Board of Rites that wrote to the Korean Board.

by it to the Peking Board of Rites, the same board with which all foreign nations dealt until the Tsung-li Ya-mên was created in 1861. From 1764, until within recent times, all questions of minor importance, such as those concerning the return of shipwrecked seamen, of violation of the frontier, etc., were addressed to the officer at Fêng-huang-ch'êng, who forwarded them to the Board of Rites at Mukden, to be by it passed on to the Peking Board of Rites; by this means the Koreans had not to send special envoys for unimportant matters.



YING-EN MÊN, "THE BOUNTY GREETING GATE."

V.

AUDIENCE AT THE COURT OF SEOUL.

THE following account of the reception by the King of Korea of a Chinese ambassador in 1843 accurately describes the ceremonies observed on such occasions down to within recent years. Po Chün, the Chinese envoy, was sent to Korea by the Emperor to offer the King his condolences on the death of his father.

"On the 21st of the second month, (Po Chün¹) having passed through a narrow defile came to a stone arch called the Ying-ên mên ("Bounty greeting gate") or the Mu-hua kuan.² After resting there awhile under an awning, the King (of Korea) came to welcome the Imperial letter, after which he preceded the embassy to the city.³ Then mounting their horses, preceded by the Imperial letter borne under a canopy and accompanied by a great armed retinue, the embassy entered Seoul by the Ch'ung-li men, the main southern gate.⁴ Advancing along a wide market street some three or four *li*, they entered the Tun-hua men (which is believed to lead into the Forbidden City). To prevent staring into the park, screens of cotton had been

¹ This is an extract from Po Chün's diary of his mission to Korea in 1843, entitled *Feng-shih Chao-hsien i-ch'eng jih-shi*.

² On the Ying-ên mên, see *Korean Repository*, ii, p. 213. The gate (or *pailou*) has been removed since the Japanese-Chinese war of 1894, and an arch built near it called "Independence Gate." See Angus Hamilton, *Korea*, p. 11.

³ The envoy and the King did not meet. (Note of Chinese author.) The envoys of the Emperor of China to Korea are called in the latter country Ch'ik-sa or Imperial envoys.

⁴ The following figures, taken from the Dynastic Institutes of Korea (*Tai jon hoi t'ong*), Bk. vi, may not be devoid of interest: "The walls of Seoul (in Chinese *ching-tu*) are 14,935 *pu* in circumference, or 89,610 feet (*chi*), the foot of the Chou Dynasty being used." I do not know whether the Korean pace (*pu*) corresponds with that now in use in China, but assuming the two measures to be identical, viz. 5.26 English feet, we find that the length of the walls of Seoul is about 41½ *li*, or nearly 13½ English miles.

put up all along the way. Going round to the east by the Chin-shan men, they passed by the Jen-chang men and entered the Su-chang men. Following a circuitous route, they then came to the Ming-chêng men, where they alighted from their horses. The masters of ceremonies introduced the envoys into the King's presence, the chief envoy bearing in both hands the Imperial letter, which he placed on the eastern table in the Ming-chêng tien (Throne Hall). Then, while they stood to one side, the King went through the usual ceremonies (of kotowing), standing at the foot of the steps.

"When this was done, the masters of ceremonies requested the envoys to leave the hall and to enter a small pavilion, where they removed their long black sheepskin gowns. After a good while, when the King had put on mourning clothes, they were requested to come to a hall, and going round to the east they came to the Hall of the Manes. The two envoys each in turn made an offering and poured out a libation. When this was finished, they took their places facing the north, and the King stood facing south on the top of the northern steps. Then the King and all his family, dressed in mourning, fell on their faces while they listened to the contents of the Imperial letter. When this was over, the masters of ceremonies told all present to cry (the host and guests alike). When this was finished, (the King) raised the Imperial letter (to his head), and incense having been burnt, the ceremonies were concluded.

"Walking to the right and left, the envoys then went to the back of the hall, where they and the King saluted each other and separated. They then went to the pavilion where they had changed their clothes, and took off their riding jackets. After waiting awhile, they were invited into the Meng-chêng tien to perform the tea ceremony. While the two envoys stood facing the west, the King, who wore his ordinary clothes and was standing facing south, intimated his desire to salute them in turn. Thrice they refused, and finally they exchanged salutations. The King then asked about the Emperor's and Empress's health, to which suitable

replies were made. After this they all sat down, and the King asked if our princes and Beileh were in good health. He then asked the envoys if they had had a prosperous journey, and whether it had been warm or cold. Tea and fruit were then brought, and the King, taking a pair of silver chopsticks in his hand, invited them to eat. Having partaken of one or two things, the King ordered the attendants to go and take tea, and with this the ceremony ended.

"The envoys then prepared to leave, and having exchanged salutations with the King, they walked out by the east and west.¹ When they had got outside the door of the Ming-chêng tien, they exchanged salutations; then, going down the steps, the envoys got on their horses, when the King saluted them from the doorway and went away.

"The envoys then went to the Nam-pyöl Kung, where they abode."

The following day the King returned the envoys' visit, and Po Chün describes it as follows: "The King came to pay a visit. The great hall of the Nam-pyöl Kung was fitted up with the folding screens. The envoys received the King at the foot of the eastern steps, and having exchanged salutations they walked forward together (i.e. side by side).

"When they reached the hall, they bowed to each other. The King having inquired of them if they had reached home safely the day before, they sat down, and had tea and an entertainment similar to that which they had had the day before. The King, in reply to an inquiry, said that he was 18 years old.

"The next day, which had been fixed for the departure of the embassy, happened to be an unlucky one,² on which it was impossible to leave, so the King insisted with much earnestness that the departure should be deferred, to which the envoys finally agreed. They then rose, and having bowed to each other, went to the foot of the eastern steps.

¹ That is to say, the chief envoy and the King walked side by side, the King walking on the east side, the envoy on the west.

² *Yüeh chi*, the 5th, 14th, and 23rd of each month.

The King would not consent to their seeing him take his leave, so after talking a little, the two envoys stood in the open road until he had left; after which the King sent a person with his card to thank them.”¹

¹ Hamel says: “When the *Tartar's* embassadour comes, the King, going in person with all his Court out of town to receive him, waits upon him to his lodging, and in all places everybody does him as much or more honour than to the King. All sorts of musicians, dancers, and vaulters go before him, striving who shall divert him most. During the whole time the *Tartar* is at Court, all the streets from his lodging to the palace are lin'd with soldiers, who stand within ten or twelve foot one of the other. There are two or three men who have no other employment but to pick up notes thrown out of the *Tartar's* window to be carry'd to the King, who desires to know what the embassadour is doing at all times. To conclude, that prince studies all ways to please him, endeavouring by all manner of courtesy to make him sensible of the respect he bears the great *Cham*, that he may make a favourable report concerning him to his master” (*Description*, p. 742). Hamel elsewhere (*Description*, p. 741) says: “The *Tartar* comes three times a year to receive the heavy tribute they pay.” And Father Régis, in his *Observations géographiques sur le Royaume de Corée* (Du Halde, *Description*, etc., iv, p. 425), says: “Le Seigneur Tartare envoyé à la Cour du Roi de Corée, nous a dit qu'il avoit été pareillement dans une grande gêne, qu'il y avoit dans son Hôtel des gens qui l'observoient sans cesse, et qui faisaient passer tout ce qu'il disoit jusqu'au Palais par de jeunes gens disposez d'espace en espace le long de la rue.”

VI.

MANCHU INSCRIPTION ON THE CONQUEST OF KOREA.

THE Song-p'a inscription¹ of which I offer a translation in this chapter, was kindly communicated to me in 1886 by the late Lieut. Geo. C. Foulk, U.S.N., formerly Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim* of the United States in Korea. Mr. Foulk had after much difficulty obtained a rubbing of it in the three languages in which it was written, Chinese, Manchu, and Mongol.

Speaking of the locality in which this valuable record of the past history of Korea stands, Mr. Foulk says :—

“Descending into the valley west of the city (of Kwang ju), we moved northwards along its east border to Songpha, a village of historic interest on the south bank of the Seoul River, 7 miles from Kwang ju and 11 from Seoul. It was just behind this village that the Chinese army which besieged Kwang ju had its camp, the remains of which are yet visible in broken-down walls and heaps of earth in the fields. On the edge of the village is a tall building of graceful shape, and indicated to be official by its decorations in red, containing a great marble tablet fully 12 feet high and a foot thick, mounted upon the back of a gigantic granite turtle. The front of the stone is closely filled entirely with an inscription deeply cut in what I took to be Manchu Tartar script characters. . . . On the back of the stone is another inscription, only partly covering it, in Chinese square characters. Outside of this building, inclosed by a rough railing, is a second great granite turtle,

¹ I have adopted the name in use among Koreans to designate this celebrated inscription. *Song-p'a* is the Korean pronunciation of the Chinese characters *sung pet*, meaning ‘commemorative tablet.’ It would be, however, more accurate to call it the Sam-jön do inscription, from the name of the place where it stands. The Chinese text of this inscription, together with a translation, has been published by W. R. Carles in the *Journal China Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, xxiii, pp. 1-18.

but without a tablet mounted on it. About the place, irregularly scattered on the ground, were many dressed stones, and a number of the stone posts, columns, sheep, and drums seen about Korean graves.

"An officer stationed at Songpha, a Pyelchang, accompanied me in my inspection of these relics. He stated that after the Chinese had begun the invasion of Corea, in 1637, two large marble tablets covered with inscriptions were brought to Corea from China by sea; that the erection of these was violently resisted by Coreans, and one was destroyed; the other was brought to Songpha, and there set up as I saw it, and has been since under the protection of the Korean Government. Neither the Pyelchang nor other persons present could (or would) explain the inscriptions, and I was told without special permission from the governor of Kwang ju copies of them could not be made."¹

Translation.

MONUMENT COMMEMORATING THE BENEVOLENCE OF THE
EMPEROR OF THE TA-CH'ING DYNASTY.

"In the first year Ts'ung-tê of the Ta-Ch'ing, in the twelfth month in Winter (January, 1637), the Emperor Kuan-wên-jen-sheng, being greatly incensed at our wrongdoings, marched straight to the Eastern country with his army which none could withstand. Then our Sovereign (*Kua Chün*) was in (Nam) Han, trembling with fear, as one who walks on ice in the Springtime before the break of day. In fifty days the troops in the eastern and southern provinces were routed and dispersed, and the armies of the west and north were skulking among the mountains unable to advance a step. In the capital provisions were exhausted. It was then that the army (of the Manchu) occupied the city (as suddenly) as the frosty blast sweeps away the withered autumn leaves or as the brazier's fire consumes a wild goose's feather.

¹ See *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1885, p. 326.

Though this had come to pass, the Emperor put no one to death, but again manifested his benevolence and proclaimed his will, saying : ' Come, or else we will utterly destroy you by the sword, like Generals Ying and Ma.'

"Messengers bearing the imperial commands filled every road.

"Then I, your Sovereign, assembled my ministers, civil and military, and said to them : ' I have been at peace with the great country (*ta pang*) for ten years, but now through my foolishness I have brought on me the punishment of Heaven, and myriads of families have been brought to naught¹ through the fault of myself alone. Still, the Emperor has not allowed our destruction, and has issued an edict like this : how can I but obey his command, and perform my duties to my ancestors above and save my people below ?'

"The ministers agreeing with this, they followed me several tens on horseback, and coming in front of the (Manchu) army I confessed their faults.

"The Emperor showed great courtesy and treated (me) with kindness. As soon as he saw me his heart went out to me, and his benevolence extended to all, even to the accompanying officers. The ceremony being ended, I, your Sovereign, returned to Seoul. The Emperor ordered the troops which had gone southward to come back and march westward (to Manchuria). He allayed the people's fears and exhorted them to go back to their farming, and though scattered far and near like starlings, they went back to their homes. Was not this a great blessing ?

"Our country (*hsiao pang*) had offended the superior country long ago by its deeds of the year *i wei* (A.D. 1619), when the (Korean) general Kang Hong-ip assisted the Ming with troops. They were routed and he was captured. The Emperor T'ai-tsu-wu only kept Hong-ip and some others, and sent all the others back.

"Nothing could exceed this clemency, but our country in its ignorance did not comprehend it.

¹ Lit. myriads of families (were hashed) like fishes' flesh.

"In the year *ting mao* (1627), the Emperor ordered his generals to subdue our country. Our Prince and his ministers fled to the islands in the sea, and sent an envoy to sue for peace. The Emperor, bearing in mind that (Korea) was a younger brother country (*hsiung-ti kuo*), returned the land to (the reigning) family, and moreover sent back Hong-ip.

"After the submission (of Korea), relations (between it and Manchuria) were free, and the hats (of both nations were seen) mingling together.

"Reckless talk which had fed the fire of discord suddenly made it burst forth. Our government (*hsiao pang*) reprimanded the border officers, but its words were not friendly, and its dispatches fell into the hands of the high ministers of state (of the Manchus and were submitted to the Emperor). The Emperor in his great clemency pardoned this, and did not at once send his troops. He first proclaimed his orders, stating that he would restore tranquillity with his troops if his orders were not obeyed. Again and again he carefully repeated his orders, as though he held us by the ear and spoke to us face to face. The Prince and ministers had no means of escaping their punishment.

"Then the Emperor with his great army surrounded Nanh-an, and ordered one of his generals to capture first Kang do (i.e. Kang-hwa Island), where the queens, the princes, and the families of the high officers of the Crown were captured (on it). The Emperor, however, gave orders to his officers that no injury should be done them, and sent eunuchs to look after and protect them. What abundance of graciousness! He allowed the Prince of our country, his ministers, and the captives whom he had protected to return to their homes. Once more the season of frost and snow had given place to that of bright Spring (or of sunshine and Spring), the drought had vanished before the rains. The country (*ch'ü*) which had been lost was restored again; the ancestral line (lit. ancestors) which had been cut asunder was again tied together. All the thousands of *ü* within the Eastern country (i.e. Korea) were regenerated by His favour. Since of old, rarely had such a thing been seen.

"The Emperor's headquarters were on the Han River to the south of the San tien ferry. Here stood an altar. I, the Sovereign, have therefore given orders to the Board of Works, that the altar be added to and made higher, and that a stone with an inscription be erected thereon, to make known to all future generations that the mercy and virtue of the Emperor is all-pervading like Heaven and Earth, that on them not only our country for all future generations will rely, but the most remote places will reverence the praiseworthy humanity of the great dynasty (of Ta-Ch'ing) founded on these deeds. It has no parallel; we may consider the expanse of Heaven and Earth, or the brilliancy of the sun and moon, but they cannot compare to one ten thousandth (of its humanity).

"This inscription vaguely and but imperfectly records it:—

'Heaven sends down the frost and dew,
 Bringing cold and bringing life;
 So also is the Emperor;
 Wide-spreading is his majesty and his kindness.
 The Emperor came to the East
 With ten myriads of his men,
 (Like) the rumbling of thunder,
 Like (the roar of) tigers and bears—
 The western Fan, the Ch'ung-fa,
 The wild tribes of the North,
 Grasping their spears rode before.¹
 Glorious is (the Emperor's) might.²
 The Emperor, in his great mercy,
 Graciously spoke words of kindness.
 All the orders which he spoke,
 While awe-inspiring, were yet kind.
 When first spoken they were not understood,
 So we brought misery on ourselves.

¹ This line is taken from Book of Odes (*Shih ching*), Pt. i, Bk. v, Ode viii.

² This may be a quotation from *Shih ching*, Pt. iv, Bk. iii, Ode v, 5. Carles in his translation thinks these lines imply the presence of Hsi Fan (Tibetan) troops with the Manchu army. I believe it is simply a bombastic simile adapted from the classics. I know nothing about the Ch'ung (or K'ung)-fa; I have never met with this name elsewhere in my readings. It may be that in the present case the words *ch'ung-fa* are not used as the name of a tribe, but in their ordinary sense of 'poor, needy' (lit. 'poor to a hair'), and refer to the western Fan (*Hsi Fan*).

Clear were the Emperor's commands ;
 We awakened as from sleep.
 Our Sovereign was filled with reverence,
 And together with his people he returned (to obedience).
 Not only did they fear (the Emperor's) might,
 But they also confided in his goodness.
 The Emperor commended him ;
 And His kindness was great and vast his graciousness.
 It brought back brightness and smiles,
 And the arms of war were put away.
 What has He given us ?
 Noble steeds and light fur gowns ;
 The people of Seoul, young men and women,
 Sing songs and ballads (in his praise).
 Our King's return was the Emperor's gift.
 The Emperor sent back home his troops.
 He has brought to life the people,
 And, pitying our dismembered state,
 He has exhorted us to take to our occupations.
 He built up the walls of Seoul as of old,
 He raised our splendid altar.
 It was as flesh reappearing on dried bones,
 Or Winter vanishing before returning Spring.
 There is a mighty block of stone
 At the head of the great river (*Ta chiang*),
 And for ten thousand years Sam Ham
 Will enjoy the protection of the Emperor.

'Erected in the fourth year of Ch'ung-tê, twelfth month, eighth
 day (January, 1640).

'The Minister Yö I-ch'í with the title of Ka-san tai-pu, a Vice-President of the first class (*Champan*) of the Board of Rites, and Tong-chi-wi-kön Pusa, composed (this) under royal instructions.

'The Minister Wo Syun with the title of Cha-hön tai-pu, a Vice-President of the second class (*Pan-t*), of the mayoralty of Seoul (*Han-chéng pu*), traced the characters under royal instructions.

'The Minister Ni Kyöng-shök with the title of Cha-hön tai-pu, President (*Pan-so*) of the Board of Civil Office, and Chancellor of the Academy (*Hong-mun kuan*), Chancellor of the College for literary studies (*Hak-yo-mun kuan*), and Ki-syong Kyun-sa wrote the seal characters (on the headline) under royal instructions.'

SOME LAWS AND CUSTOMS OF KOREA.

KOREA, for some inexplicable reason, has repelled scientific research. Those who have been in the best position to inquire into its history, institutions, and ethnology, have either kept their discoveries to themselves or else have abandoned in disgust researches which were surrounded by endless unforeseen obstacles, arising generally from the indolent, apathetic character of the natives, who cannot understand our restless curiosity and waste of energy in apparent idle inquiry. This must be my apology for offering these discursory notes, most of which were jotted down from day to day during my residence at Seoul as United States Chargé d'Affaires in 1886-7, as they were furnished me by natives or Chinese friends, or as I stumbled across them in reading Korean or Chinese books. I should add that some of the laws and regulations I mention are probably no longer in force, for Korea has undergone considerable changes since the ending of the Chino-Japanese war of 1894-95.

In 1871 the King of Korea, writing to his suzerain, the Emperor of China, said of his country: "Its educated men observe and practise the teachings of Confucius and of Wen Wang; its common people cultivate pulse and millet and get their wealth in silk and hemp, and thus studying frugality, in its poverty the country preserves its supplies, and its Government repose in safety on its own basis."

Confucianism has thoroughly permeated the country both politically and socially, and Chinese modes of thought, Chinese literature and culture of the T'ang and Ming periods, have made Korea what it is. The Chinese of a thousand years ago is the groundwork of the present Sinico-Korean style of literature, the Chinese institutions of the Ming Dynasty those on which the Institutes of the reigning dynasty of Chōsen are framed.

Passing over the subject of the political organization of

the kingdom, which is tolerably well known from previously published works,¹ a few words are not amiss on the subject of the revenue of the State, and these I take from the Dynastic Institutes (*Ta jon hoi-t'ong*).

As in China, the principal source of revenue is a land-tax, paid in kind and fixed annually according to the condition of the crops, fields situated along the sea-coast or rivers and subject to flooding paying about half the amount levied on highland culture. The grain (mostly rice) thus collected in governmental granaries in the different provincial capitals and at Seoul is used in the payment of salaries and for other official expenditures. The provinces, moreover, pay into the treasury a fixed tribute of horses, rice, hempen cloth, paper, ginseng, dried fish, etc., or their value in copper cash.² These products, or at least some of them, such as paper, are also used in lieu of money, which is very scarce, in payment of salaries, one piece of common hemp cloth being exchangeable for twenty sheets of paper, one quart of rice for one sheet.

All mechanics, artisans, and pedlars are taxed, according to the nature of their business, at a certain number of sheets of paper or pieces of hemp cloth. All junks and fishing-boats have to pay a tax, the latter kind from 100 to 200 fish, according to the size of the craft.

It is to be noted that nowhere are payments in silver or any other metal, save occasionally copper cash, mentioned in the Korean Institutes, and even then these latter are not the standard unit of value, but rather the sheet of paper.

The sale of ginseng is a royal monopoly; so it is not surprising to find regulations for preventing the illicit

¹ See C. W. Campbell, *Report on a Journey in North Korea*, pp. 16-18; Dallet, *Histoire de l'Eglise de Corée*, i, p. xxxiii et seq.; and F. Scherzer, *Tchao-sien-tche, Mémoire sur la Corée* (in *Journal Asiat.*, 1885), p. 178.

² On the currency of Korea, see C. T. Gardner, *The Coinage of Corea* (*Journ. China Branch Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, xxvii, pp. 72-130). Dallet (op. sup. cit., i, p. clxxxv) says that during the dynasties preceding the present one there was a paper money in the form of an arrow-head, worth about three sheets of paper. Hamel, writing of Korea of the middle of the seventeenth century, says: "They know no money but their *casis*, and those pass only on the frontiers of *China*. They pay silver by weight in little ingots, like those we bring from Japan" (*Description*, p. 741). The word *casis* is our *cash*. John Davis (A.D. 1600), in *Purchas*, i, p. 117, writes the word *casas*. See H. Yule, *Glossary of Reference*, p. 128.

purchase of this root or its sale by the farmers who grow it, except at authorized places in the province of Kuan-ting. From the sale of ginseng the king derives an annual revenue roughly estimated at \$250,000, U.S. currency.¹

Among the most unexpected taxes levied on tradespeople is one on sorceresses (*mut'ang*) arriving at the capital, where they had until recently to pay to the Board of Revenue a certain number of logs or sticks of wood; for what purpose is not said, but certainly not to burn them with later on, for they are an influential class of the community.

In Korea, as in China, banks and money-changers are numerous, but the Government exercises no control over their business, in so far as private depositors and the issue of notes are concerned. In Korea, however, no money-changer can open a shop in the capital without the permission of the Treasury department, and in case he makes use of debased coin his shop is closed.

Passing to the question of Korean laws and modes of procedure, we find that some of their provisions show an enlightened spirit not always present among nations that lay claim to a much higher civilization. Thus, in cases of murder, the punishment being death, the testimony of persons under 16 years of age cannot be introduced as evidence. An insane person or deaf mute is not punished with death for murder, but only exiled to a remote locality.² Written evidence is necessary for the recovery of debts.

¹ There are two kinds of ginseng (*in sam*), the red (*hong sam*) and white (*pak sam*); the former is steamed in closed vessels and then dried, while the latter, which is held to be better, is only sun-dried. There is another variety called mountain ginseng (*san sam*), which is exceedingly rare and greatly prized. See Geo. C. Foulk's *Report on the Ginseng of Korea in Foreign Relations of the United States for 1885*, p. 328 et seq., also *Foreign Relations for 1886*, p. 214. In the *Peking Gazette* for Nov. 21st, 1886, we read that the Governor of Kirin had collected for the use of the Emperor of China 9 ounces of wild (i.e. mountain) ginseng at a cost of 2,185 taels of silver, which at the then rate of exchange was about equivalent to \$2,950 U.S. money. See also *Peking Gazette*, Nov. 17th, 1883, *et passim*. Hamel (op. sup. cit., p. 734) calls ginseng *nisy*, probably an imperfect transcription of the Korean *in sam*. See also on the subject of ginseng, W. R. Carles, *Report of a Journey in the North of Corea*, p. 3 (*Brit. Dipl. and Com. Reports, Corea*, No. 2, 1885); also *U.S. Consular Reports*, xiv, pp. 223-241, and Dallet, op. sup. cit., i, p. vii.

² In China a lunatic who murders his father or mother is put to death by the *ling ch'ih* method. See *Peking Gazette*, July 12th and Aug. 23rd, 1875, *et passim*.

Appeals from the provincial judges to the Board of Punishments and from it to the sovereign are allowed. In petitioning the king two methods are employed. In one the petitioner, bearing his prayer, written on a large roll of the finest paper and bound round with red strips, goes to the Palace gate, spreads his mat, and there takes his seat, the petition resting upright against the wall. In this position he remains until some one is sent out from the Palace to take his petition and present it to the king. Another mode of petitioning is for a person to take an empty brass rice bowl and strike it as the king passes along in one of his progresses. Should the king choose to receive the petition, the procession stops and it is presented to him then and there.

With the first mode of petitioning we may possibly compare the Hindu institution (now forbidden by law) of "sitting *dharna*," consisting in staying at one's debtor's door and fasting till he pays, and the Irish method of "fasting upon a person," recognized by the old Brehon laws as a legal method. With the second mode of petitioning I can only compare the Chinese mode of "clamouring for justice" (*han yuan*).¹

Crime is punished in Korea by decapitation, bastinado (subdivided into heavy and light), and banishment; but, as in most Asiatic countries, a money commutation is allowed in all save capital cases. Thus we find that two pieces of hemp cloth or seven ounces of silver is the fine, instead of one hundred blows, or one year's banishment, ten pieces of hemp cloth, or thirty-five ounces of silver in lieu of one year's exile to the remotest frontiers of the realm, and so on.

Hamel (middle of seventeenth century) says: "He that rebels against the King is destroy'd, with all his race, his houses are thrown down, and no man does ever rebuild 'em, and all his goods forfeited, and sometimes given to

¹ "In China an unrelieved suitor may gather his friends together, and, sitting round the residence of the judge, howl as loud as they can. This custom is called *han yuan*. Sometimes a wronged man, out of spite (*huai yuan*), will commit suicide to avenge himself (*pao chu*) on the wrongdoer, the idea being that the ghost of the oppressed will haunt the oppressor." (Chris. Gardner in *Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, N.S., xv, p. 231.)

some private person. . . . If a woman kills her husband, she's buried alive up to her shoulders, in a highway that is much frequented, and by her is laid an axe, with which all that pass by, and are not noble, are oblig'd to give her a stroke on the head till she's dead. The judges of the town where this happens are suspended for a while; the governor is taken away, and t'is made subordinate to another government, or, at best, only a private gentleman is left to command in it. . . . The man that kills his wife and proves he has cause so to do, as for catching her in adultery, or any other heinous fault, is in no danger for so doing. If the woman so kill'd was a slave, the penalty is to pay three times her value to the owner. Slaves that kill their masters are cruelly tormented to death, but they look upon it as nothing for a master to kill his slave, though it be upon a slight account. Thus they punish murder. After they have long trampled upon the criminal, they pour vinegar on the putrify'd carcase, which they then pour down the offender's throat thro' a funnel, and when he is full, they beat him on the belly with cudgels till he bursts. Thieves are trampled to death. . . . If a single man is found a-bed with a married woman, he is stripp'd naked to a little pair of drawers, then daubing his face with lime, they run an arrow through each ear, and fasten a little drum on his back, which they beat at all the cross streets to expose him to shame. This punishment ends in forty or fifty strokes of a cudgel on the man's bare buttocks, but the woman receives 'em with drawers on. . . . If a married man be taken lying with another man's wife, he is to suffer death . . . and the criminal's father, if living, or else his nearest relation, must be the executioner. The offender is to choose what death he will die, but generally the men desire to be run thro' the back, and the women to have their throat cut. . . . The slightest punishment in that country is to be bastinado'd on the bare buttocks, or on the calfs of the legs." ¹

Neither party in a suit can be represented or assisted by

¹ *Description*, pp. 736-737. Cf. Dallet, *op. sup. cit.*, i, p. lviii et seq.

an attorney, nor is any one allowed to defend a person accused of a crime. Such an offence is punishable with a hundred blows and banishment to the frontier.

The limit of time within which a civil suit can be brought against a person is fixed at 60 years in case serious interests are involved, and at 30 for cases of small importance.

Korean society being organized according to Confucian ideas, we find the rights of parents over children, of elder over younger brothers, etc., as firmly established in this country as in China, and punishments graduated accordingly. Thus a parent killing his child, or an elder his younger brother, does not commit a capital offence, but is punished with a beating and exile. But if a son kills a father or an elder brother, or even a man his wife's parents, he is beheaded at once.

In Korea, as in China, we find that magistrates or other local officers hold an inquest on all persons deceased, and that certificates of decease are given by them to the family.

Slavery, in one form or other, has existed in Korea, as in China, from the remote periods of its history. Criminals and female children sold by their parents formed the bulk of this class. Cases have occurred where husbands sold their wives to acquit a debt, but the law forbade this practice, as it did also that of selling one's fields for a like purpose. A man marrying a slave owned the children she bore him, but the males became free on reaching their majority.¹ The rights of owners over their slaves were limited by law. Thus a slave might not be put to death by his owner before the latter had obtained the permission of the Board of Punishments if he resided within Seoul, or of the high provincial authorities if living elsewhere. Slaves, moreover, enjoyed certain civil rights; for example, one might bring an action against another to obtain damages or recover debts.²

¹ Hamel (*Description*, p. 735) says the issue of a slave woman by a freeman or of a free woman by a slave are also slaves, and that children of slaves belonged to the owner of the mother. Cf. also Dallet, *op. sup. cit.*, i, p. cxiv.

² On the 6th of February, 1886, the King of Korea abolished the hereditary transmission of slaves and the guilds for furnishing slave labour to the palaces and Government offices, see *Foreign Relations of the United States for 1886*, p. 213.

Turning now to the subject of the measures adopted by the Government for developing the resources of the country and for promoting its prosperity, it is pleasing to note its endeavours (at least on paper) to increase the production of silk, rewards being given to localities that plant mulberry-trees. The planting of lacquer and fruit trees was also sedulously fostered, and the provisions made in the Dynastic Institutes for encouraging the plantation of forest trees are worthy of our emulation. In the early Spring and late Autumn of each year men were sent to the mountains to plant pine and other varieties of trees, and the localities which omitted having this done incurred a severe penalty. Pine nurseries, situated along the coast, provided the necessary saplings, and monthly inspections were made to see that none of the timber was cut.

The Board of Works, among its functions, had to see that the trades and industries of the country did not fall off in importance, and that the workmen in each branch and the labourers in the fields were kept at certain fixed numbers, the whole population, exclusive of the noble and middle classes, being divided up among the different avocations recognized in the country, the members of each family working, from father to son, at a certain trade, from which they might not depart, such as artisan, trader, farmer, fisherman, etc.

In this connection it is proper to remark that most of the native trade was, and still is, controlled by merchant guilds, who are under the supervision of a high officer of the State.¹ The most powerful guild is that of the pedlars or *Pu-syang hoi*.

Beside the taxes and imposts referred to previously, the people owe the Government a personal service or *corvée*,² calculated at the rate of six days a year for every eight acres owned or, rather, under cultivation. A person may, however, work in any one year for a longer period and have

¹ *Korean Repository*, ii, pp. 41-48.

² On the *corvée* in Korea, see C. W. Campbell, *Report of a Journey in North Corea*, p. 4.

himself credited with the number of days in excess for the following years. All persons belonging to the common herd are *corvéable* until the age of 60.¹

The dress of the Korean is so familiar to us that a description of it is hardly necessary. A long full gown, usually white, thick wadded socks, a light bamboo woven hat, and a fillet tightly bound around the head are its distinctive features. The origin of this dress is less well known, and though the stories told me concerning it may not be true, they are universally accepted by the people.

Koreans have ever been fond of drinking to excess, and when under the influence of liquor are quarrelsome in the extreme. When the present dynasty was young,² some four hundred years ago, one of the sovereigns devised the following plan for putting a stop to the continual fighting and drunken brawls which disgraced the country. He decreed that all his male subjects should wear light earthenware hats with very broad brims, in shape like those of the present day. To protect the head from chafing against the hard surface of this headgear a light padded cap was worn underneath it. Korean rooms are small, not over eight feet square, and as the hat was to be always worn, except when lying down, not more than four persons could sit in one apartment at the same time. If anyone was found with a broken hat, the accident was attributed to the wearer having been engaged in a brawl, and he was beaten. This drastic measure soon had a salutary effect, but the style of headdress had

¹ In hamlets too small to demand the presence of an official, the collection of taxes devolves on the head of the tithing. "The tithing-men are divided into three classes: (1) the 'Sa-im,' (2) the 'Tjoa-shang,' and (3) the 'Tson-en,' the first of whom is chosen by the magistrate and the two latter by the villagers. The 'Sa-im' keeps the register of the inhabitants in a book called 'Song-tchaik,' a copy of which is sent to the magistrate, and therein records all deaths and births; the 'Tjoa-shang' attends to public matters, such as the repair of roads and bridges, and reports deaths and births to the 'Sa-im'; while the 'Tson-en' are instructed with the settlement of minor disputes among the villagers, the amount of land-tax due from each household, and the subscription to be raised for the erection of tablets to officials, and similar public expenditure." (W. R. Carles, *op. sup. cit.*, p. 21. Cf. C. W. Campbell, *op. sup. cit.*, pp. 16-18.)

² Jas. S. Gale, in the *Korean Repository*, ii, p. 322, places the introduction of these hats in the reign of the semi-historical Keui-ja (Ki-tzu) in the twelfth century B.C.



ROADSIDE DEITY.

become popular, and though the material of the hat and the cap have been changed and are made exceedingly light, the shape has remained in vogue ever since.

The gowns which the women wear over their heads have, it is said, their origin in their desire to be ready at any moment to turn them into clothes for soldiers. To a like end the quilts used in houses are all made of red and green stuff, red being used for the sleeves of soldiers' gowns, so that when they wipe their dripping swords on them the blood may not show.

It may here be noted that Korean officials (*yangban*) do not wear, as do the Chinese, a globule on their hats, varying in substance according to their rank, but small buttons or rather rings fastened behind the ears to the strings of their head fillet, those of officers of the highest rank being of embossed gold. Generals wear a jade ornament on the top of their hats, carved to represent a bird, if I remember rightly.

White garments in Korea, as in many other Asiatic countries, are those of mourning,¹ but the outer every-day gowns of nearly all the people are of that colour at the present day. It is said that in the early part of this century three kings died in rapid succession, and as it is obligatory on all the people to put on and wear for three years white clothes on the death of the king, the country was in mourning for such a long time that dyers ceased their work and no more coloured clothes were found when the period of mourning was at an end. Some years ago Prince Min Yung-ik persuaded the present Emperor to issue a decree allowing the people to wear coloured clothes and to reduce the size of their wide-flowing sleeves (which had also been made obligatory in the early days of this dynasty to make fighting more difficult), and adopt the narrower and more commodious Chinese pattern. But white is still the prevailing colour of dress seen everywhere, and a worse one could not be found, for not being a neat people, the Koreans' clothes are invariably dirty. Korean washing and ironing are done in a peculiar and expensive way. The clothes are ripped

¹ See on this subject, Dr. E. B. Landis, *Mourning and Burial Rites in Korea*.

to pieces, and, after being washed and paddled in some stream, are given a fine gloss by being pounded with a pair of small clubs over a smooth, rounded stone. I have been told that to clean an ordinary gown costs about seventy-five cents, a large sum for a poor Korean, and for a fine silk one the expense is not less than seven dollars.

To every Korean, man or woman, the most important and seemingly indispensable article of personal apparel is the tobacco pipe,¹ a light metallic bowl, with a stem from three to five feet long, in which they commonly smoke leaves of tobacco moistened with spittle and rolled in the shape of a cigar.² The use of this pipe has perhaps contributed not a little to make this people what they are, inveterate procrastinators and happy-go-lucky loafers, for work is impossible with this long, unwieldy instrument functioning, and life is apparently not worth living when it is not in their mouths. Time is even reckoned by them by the number of pipes smoked. Thus you will hear them say "*han tae man moku torawatta*" ("he only stopped long enough to smoke one pipe").

Like the Japanese, the Koreans have but little religious sentiment, but the devil is an important personage,³ and

¹ Speaking of tobacco, Hamel, writing of the middle of the seventeenth century, says: "Within these fifty or sixty years, since when the Japanese taught them to plant tobacco, to dress and make use of it, for till then it was unknown to them They take so much at present that the very children practise it at four or five years of age, and there are very few men or women among them that do not smoke. When first brought them they bought it for its weight in silver." (*Description*, p. 741.)

² The people of Ssü-ch'uan in Western China smoke tobacco in exactly the same fashion.

³ A Chinese writer of the Ming period says of this people: "In their habits they are apathetic and idle; they greatly honour bonzes and revere the devils; they do not like to kill The deportment of all classes is eminently dignified" (*Ssü-I k'ao*, Bk. i, p. 6). Mr. James Scott says of the Koreans that they are "patient and docile; free from all animus or hauteur against Europeans; conscious of their national weakness; poor and oppressed; the slaves of a selfish, grinding officialdom, but capable under a just government of intellectual development and national progress. Their one national weakness,—a fondness for alcohol and tobacco; their one pleasure and enjoyment,—to saunter sightseeing over hill and valley, the term *kukyeng* (picnic) being part and parcel of their daily life. In religion the Koreans would appear to have none—only a dead level of Confucian philosophy or materialism." See *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, n.s., xxviii, p. 231. Hamel is as accurate in his estimate of the Korean character as he is elsewhere in his writing. He says of them: "The Coreans are very much addicted to stealing, and so apt to cheat

they have many ceremonies for exorcising him or them, for devils and wicked spirits innumerable infest the land, and the *mut'ang* or sorceresses are a numerous and influential class among them.¹ Wearing an ornament of silver or carrying some silver about the person is said to keep the devils away.

Among the people there are not a few who obtain power over evil spirits. It is done as follows: The would-be sorcerer goes for a hundred consecutive nights to some secluded glen and recites prayers and spells. On the ninety-seventh night the demons assail the neophyte, but if he conquers he obtains on the ninety-eighth night power over them, and by the hundredth he is able to evoke or exorcise them at his will.

The belief in the existence of a soul is general, as may be gathered from the fact that Koreans say that in sleep it goes out of the body, and if a piece of paper is put over the face of the sleeper he will surely die, for his soul cannot find its way back into him again. Transmigration is also a recognized doctrine among Koreans. The following practice prevails among the common people for finding out in what form a person is about to transmigrate:—

Koreans do not put dry salt into their food, but, like many Polynesian races, use salt water instead; so over the bowl in which brine is kept a dish is laid, and on it are strewn fine ashes, the whole being covered with a sieve. As soon

and lye that there is no trusting of them . . . Nevertheless they are silly and credulous . . . They are an effeminate people, and show very little courage and resolution when they are put to it . . . They are not ashamed of cowardice, and lament the misfortune of those that must fight . . . They abhor blood, and fly when they meet with any. They are much afraid of the sick, and particularly those that have contagious distempers . . . When there is a plague in one town or village, the avenues to it are shut up with a hedge of briars and brambles, and they lay some on the tops of the houses where there are any sick, that all people may know it." (*Description*, p. 740.)

¹ Cf. Hamel, *op. sup. cit.*, p. 740: "The poor people make use of blind men and conjurers, in whom they once repos'd such great confidence that they follow'd them everywhere, cross rivers and rocks, and particularly into the temples of the idols, where they call'd upon the devils. But this custom was abolish'd by the King's order in the year 1662." On fortune-telling by blind men, see Dallet, *op. sup. cit.*, i, p. cxlix. Dr. E. B. Landis, in his valuable paper entitled *Notes on the Exorcism of Spirits in Korea*, gives a list of 36 classes of spirits which are exorcised.

as a person is dead the sieve is raised and the ashes examined. If traces of a small human foot are found on them the deceased has gone to inhabit another human form. If serpentine or fine lines are seen he has become a reptile or some crawling or creeping animal.

Another superstition, the origin of which is not quite clear to me, is that if a cat jumps over a corpse it will sit up. To make it resume its recumbent position a person must strike its left cheek with his left hand and kick it with his left foot.

Korean medical science¹ and practice appear to be chiefly derived from China, but some of the ideas concerning the causes of disease are, I think, quite original. Cholera, a common and much dreaded disease among them, is known as the "rat in the stomach disease," it being caused by a rat which, crawling up through the muscles of the leg, produces the violent muscular contractions noticed in the early stages of the malady. When the rat gets into the patient's stomach death ensues.

Soup made of dog's flesh is one of the favourite tonics, blood-purifiers, and cures for sore throat, etc. It is, in short, *the* panacea of Korean doctors, and everyone considers it a duty to take a bowl of it at least once a year to ensure good health. In December, 1884, when Prince Min Yung-ik was cut down by revolutionists and dangerously wounded, the native doctors tried to bring about his recovery by giving him dog soup.

Another of the popular notions of this people which should be called to the attention of all parents with small children is that of making them eat walnuts when suffering from indigestion caused by swallowing copper cash. Walnuts are said to dissolve the copper, or rather to cause it to crumble into small pieces, and I have seen a Korean demonstrate the accuracy of this by crushing a cash in his mouth with

¹ On Korean medical science, see Dallet, *op. sup. cit.*, i, p. clxxx et seq., and E. B. Landis, *Notes from the Korean Pharmacopœa*. On the Korean treatment of smallpox, see Dallet, *op. sup. cit.*, i, p. cxlviii. Children suffering with the disease, he says, are supposed to have second sight and hold intercourse with the spirits.

walnuts; but good teeth and bad copper are quite sufficient to explain the mystery.

Korea, since the Manchu invasion, in the first half of the seventeenth century, has adopted the Chinese almanac,¹ and the new year begins somewhere between the middle of January and the middle of February. There is, however, a feast celebrated in the eleventh moon which possibly marks the end of the year as it used to be reckoned before that time. This festivity, known as *Tong-ji-tal*, is celebrated with banquets in which hot dishes play an important rôle, especially one made of rice and peas and called *pa-chuk*. When the people have finished eating this dish they say the year is at an end. Some of the food is stuck against the door as an offering to the spirits and devils to propitiate them or keep them away.

During a certain night, known as *Chu-il*, in the twelfth moon, the palace eunuchs, of whom there are some 300, perform a ceremony supposed to secure bountiful crops in the ensuing year. They chant in chorus prayers, swinging burning torches around them the while. This is said to be symbolical of burning the dead grass, so as to destroy the field mice and other vermin.

On New Year's eve the devils are driven out of the towns by firing off guns and crackers, a custom also observed throughout China.

New Year is celebrated in Korea, much as it is in China, by making congratulatory visits and by family gatherings.² The fifteenth of the first moon (known as the Feast of Lanterns in China) is the most important festival of the year. Among the distinctly Korean customs connected with it is that of throwing into the street before one's house a little straw doll in which a few cash have been put. This

¹ On the Korean almanac, see the interesting paper in the *Korean Repository*, ii, pp. 68-73, where may also be found (p. 73) some facts on the subject of Korean physicians and apothecaries, and the different positions of one's body spirit each day of the month. On the first day of each month this spirit (*chuk-il in sin*) is in the big toes, on the fifteenth throughout the whole body, and on the thirtieth in the heels.

² On the New Year festivities, see Dallet, *op. sup. cit.*, i, p. clxiv.

vicarious offering carries with it all one's ills and troubles, and whoever picks it up takes them to himself. Others paint images on paper, and beside it write their bodily and mental troubles; it is then carried by an urchin to the centre of the town and there burnt.

Kite-flying, a favourite amusement of the people (in which each one tries to cut with the string of his kite that of some other person), comes to an end on the fourteenth of the first moon. On that day it is common for people to write the names of their ills on a kite, and he who cuts it loose takes them all on himself.¹

On the fifteenth, everyone should walk over some bridge. 'Bridge' and 'leg' are homophonous words in Korean (*tari*), and it is believed that if one crosses a bridge on this day he will have no pains in his feet or legs during the year.

During the day Buddhist monks recite liturgies in the different official residences and hold ceremonies in their temples, and this, I believe, is the only day of the year when they are allowed to come into the capital.

On the night of the fifteenth, round pieces of paper, either red or white (representations of the moon), held perpendicularly in split sticks, are placed on the tops of all the houses, and those who have been forewarned by fortune-tellers² of impending evil pray to the moon to remove it.

Of the other yearly feasts the third day of the third moon is called *Han sik* or "return of the swallows." It is said to be a good day for planting pumpkins. If a girl plant one, then the number of fruit on the vine will indicate the number of children she will bear.

The fifth day of the fifth moon is called *Tano nal*. Ancestors are then worshipped, and swings are put up in

¹ On the subject of Korean kites, see Stewart Culin, *Korean Games*, p. 9.

² Dr. H. N. Allen, U.S. Minister to Korea, has told me that one of the most popular modes of fortune-telling is the following :—A precocious child dies, its spirit roams about until finally it asks some old woman or *mut'ang* to arrange a clean bottle for it to enter, when the spirit comes into it with a whistling sound, after which the hag places a spray of artificial flowers in the neck of the bottle, and lets the people know that she has a spirit at her command. People come, and after paying her they tell her what they wish to know, and she questions the spirit, when a whistling sound proceeds from the bottle and the leaves shake. The hag then interprets the message.

the yards of most houses for the amusement of the people. The women on this day may go about the streets; during the rest of the year they may go out only after dark. Dressed in their prettiest clothes, they visit the different houses and amuse themselves swinging. The swing is said to convey the idea of keeping cool in the approaching Summer. It is one of the most popular feasts of the year.

On two days in the fifth and sixth moons, and twenty-two days apart, called *pok nal*, dog-flesh soup is eaten. If it rains on either of these days the jujube blossoms will fall, and there will be little fruit that year.

On the seventh day of the seventh moon Korean children drive away the magpies to make them go form in the skies the bird bridge across the milky way on which the star goddess and her lover meet.¹

The fifteenth of the seventh moon is celebrated in Buddhist temples as the birthday of the Buddha.

The eighth of the eighth moon is the children's great feast, and is celebrated by all those who have any. Poles are set up, and on them are fixed flags during the day and lanterns at night. Lanterns are also hung about the houses in which children have been born in the year, and paper fish attached to the poles in the courtyards. On this day the people eat the fish called *tai* (the bonita). They watch at night candles burning. If they are entirely consumed the life of the child born that year will be long; if but a portion only of them burns it will be proportionately shorter. This feast is also kept in Japan.

The ninth of the ninth moon is *Ku-il*, and is celebrated as the autumnal equinox, when the swallows fly homeward to their king in the south country (*Kang nam kuk*). The chrysanthemum flower opens this day, and is put in the wine-cup to flavour the drink. This feast is, I believe, of Japanese origin.

¹ See *Korean Repository*, ii, pp. 62-67. The legend on which this custom is founded is common also to China and Japan. The sixteenth of the seventh month is a national feast, the anniversary of the founding of the present dynasty by Tah-cho. The twenty-fourth of the same month is the present Emperor's birthday; it is also a national festival.

Buddhism was introduced into Korea in A.D. 372; curiously enough, it is much less like the form of that religion obtaining in China—at least in the church ceremonies, if not in its dogmas—than is even the Japanese. It presents many curious analogies with the Tibetan form of Buddhism, and in the style of church architecture, painting, etc., it has certainly been influenced by it. Several of the feasts above noticed are probably of Buddhist origin; others are Chinese or Japanese; but in most of them a certain distinctive national element is perceptible which makes them worthy of our notice. The prominence given to exorcising in Korea is characteristic of Lamaism, but is nowise of Chinese Buddhism, and although it may have been introduced with the Buddhist religion, I am inclined to believe that it is coeval with the earliest existence of this people.

As further showing the close connection between Korean and Tibetan Buddhism, I note that in the Korean Buddhist classic entitled *Chyei syek*, or “the Classic of the Rosary,” it is said: “When you begin chanting the Rosary repeat *Om Akcho Svaha* twenty-one times. When you string the beads, after each one repeat *Om Mani Padmi Hum* twenty-one times, and after you have finished, repeat *Om Vairochana Svaha* twenty-one times.”¹ These three formulas are peculiar to Tibetan Lamaism, and are not, I believe, known to Chinese Buddhism.

¹ See *Korean Repository*, ii, 25.

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